

Casey Anthony:  
The social media  
trial of the century

TURKEY  
The Middle  
East's new  
power player

Embryonic  
Stem Cells:  
No longer  
just a  
promise

What happened  
to conservative  
thinking?  
BY FAREED ZAKARIA

# TIME

## Baracketology\*

It's tip-off time in the 2012 campaign. Which Republican has the best shot at beating Barack Obama?

By Joe Klein

The  
Insiders

vs.

The  
Outsiders

GOP Nominee

Mitt  
Romney

Jon  
Huntsman

Tim  
Pawlenty

Wild card

Newt  
Gingrich

Michele  
Bachmann

Rick  
Santorum

Ron  
Paul

Sarah  
Palin

Herman  
Cain

\* Fill out this bracket and  
send us your choices  
See page 4 for details

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Men raise a flag on a Stratham, N.H., farm before Mitt Romney announces his entrance into the 2012 race. Photograph by Brooks Kraft—Corbis for TIME

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Left, from top: Chip Somodevilla; Adam Dean—Bloomberg; Bill Clark—Roll Call; Ida Mae Astute—ABC (all via Getty Images); Right, from top: Mark Wilson—Getty Images; Steve Pope—Getty Images; Michael Ivins—EPA; Spencer Platt—Getty Images; Hyungwon Kang—Reuters



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America's  
Top Weiner

Life After  
High School

What Recovery? The Five  
Myths About the Economy

## EDITOR'S DESK

### Framing the Republican Race



Richard Nixon famously advised Republican presidential candidates to run to the right in the primaries and to the center in the general election. The idea is that you need to round up the base to get the nomination and then appeal to independents to win the presidency. (This formula applies to Democrats as well, only the initial direction is leftward.)

But Nixon would not recognize the Republican Party these days, in part because the Tea Party is shifting the GOP's center of gravity. As a result, some of the candidates seem to be trying to run to the right and to the center at the same time. That may be schizophrenic psychologically, but it's smart politically.

This week, as we head into the political season in earnest, Joe Klein's cover story offers the smartest framing of the Republican race: it's a battle between centrist



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and traditional plausible candidates and populist outsiders. The latter have ideological purity, while the former need to twist themselves in order to not alienate the new Tea Party-tinged base.

Joe splits the candidates into brackets, and we thought we'd make a virtue of that on the cover by using the now ubiquitous method of basketball bracketing to show how the Republican race is divided. President Obama enthusiastically fills in the NCAA brackets every year; we're asking you to do that too. Fill in the blanks on the cover and send us your picks, and we will tally your choices for the Republican nominee. You'll also be able to vote online. We'll post the bracketology breakdown in this space in the coming weeks.

*Pick*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

## MAIL

### A Recovery in Need of Recovery



Rana Foroohar's analysis of America's sputtering economy is spot-on ("What Recovery?" June 20). At the heart of our high unemployment rate lies the fact that corporations and their executives profit immensely from the migration of jobs to low-cost countries. In a perfect world, Congress would devise a creative solution to better align the interests of these executives with those of the American workforce. Too bad pigs will fly before that happens.

Kevin Coakley, PALO ALTO, CALIF.

It's bad enough that President Obama's \$800 billion economic-recovery program is a total bust. But why add insult to injury by assuming that the private sector has no chance and that government is still the solution? Indeed, government has been the problem all along. Govern-

ment, from Jimmy Carter to Bill Clinton, caused the housing bubble by intimidating lenders with legislation designed to make it too simple to buy a home.

Daniel B. Jeffs, APPLE VALLEY, CALIF.

I loved it. Finally, the real truth about our economic decline appears in major media. Foroohar's economic myth busting explains it all—why multinationals don't hire in the U.S., why Keynesian stimulus no longer stimulates and how lopsided growth in the financial sector has hurt us. Yet she never actually arrives at the bottom-line cause and the professional economist's sacred cow: our naive acceptance of an unfettered free market.

James A. Cunningham, SARATOGA, CALIF.

Here are two ideas to spur recovery: Let corporations that keep profits abroad to avoid paying taxes repatriate the money at a special 5% or 10% tax rate as long as they create a certain number of jobs. Companies that take advantage of such


## FROM THE ARCHIVES

### Newt's Revolution

On the eve of the 1994 congressional elections, TIME looked at how an angry, influential Newt Gingrich would lead: "His message is 1) Washington is the mortal enemy; 2) the place should be dynamited; 3) he and his party hold the match.... In the end, his ideas, which don't often come to grips with the particulars of policymaking, may be less important than his signature mood of righteous belligerence. Voters are bursting with frustration. Gingrich offers to explode on their behalf.... If Gingrich is coy about what he has in mind in the way of policies, the Clinton Administration is



also scrambling to devise a new agenda. As an Administration official puts it, 'Everyone has the first sentence down: We have to move to the middle. But no one knows what to say after that.'"



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A man and a woman are standing on a wooden bridge, leaning on their bicycles. The man is wearing a dark blue cardigan over a grey t-shirt and white pants. The woman is wearing a grey sweater, a red scarf, and has her hair in a ponytail. They are both smiling. In the background, there are historic European-style buildings with red roofs and a church with a dome. The scene is framed by a thin purple border.

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a tax break but fail to create enough jobs would retroactively owe the full tax. Homeowners who are underwater should be allowed a deduction on tax returns for losses suffered. This would increase mobility by allowing people to move where the jobs are and clear the housing market by making homes more affordable at real market prices.

Ray Damani, SPARTANBURG, S.C.

Farooohar claims that the private sector cannot make things better and that entrepreneurs are not one of America's greatest strengths. This is think-tank talk. Our small entrepreneurial business in the struggling industrial market has doubled its staff in the last year and is looking for more. We have hired people who are more than 60 years old, plus a summer intern whom we are actually (gasp) paying.

Jeff Winkel, LENEXA, KANS.

## High School and Beyond

I felt "Life After High School" was somewhat simplistically presented [June 20]. I am a junior in high school, and my family has one of the lowest incomes in a very affluent community. I found it difficult to understand why you made no correlation between income and popularity. Yes, conformity rules in high school, but it takes money to conform. I have found that often the popular kids are the ones who can afford brand names, throw big parties in their nice houses and invite people on their phones that their parents are most likely paying for. Playing sports all year is very expensive too, as is attending SAT/ACT prep courses, student-government programs and class trips.

Gabrielle Johnson, TOWNSEND, MASS.

Thanks for a succinct description and analysis of the often puzzling and disen-



chanting journey of high school and the reassurance that the experience need not be the key determinant of the rest of one's life. Thanks also to the thousands of fine teachers who, with caring commitment to the welfare of young people year after year, provide them with loving guidance at a tumultuous time in their lives.

Phil Corsetto, DENVER

Many years ago, one of my Seattle high school friends was a "secret dancer" like the girl in your story. He never let anyone know he took ballet lessons. He went on to establish the Joffrey Ballet.

Kenneth G. Wong, BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

## You Are Such a Weiner

Re "America's Top Weiner" [June 20]: Really, people? Haven't we had enough of the ad nauseam Weiner jokes these past few weeks?

Mark C. Still, PHILADELPHIA

Joel Stein's column on Anthony Weiner belongs in *Penthouse* or *Star*.

Dennis Barrett, PERRYSBURG, OHIO

## THE CONVERSATION

Rana Foroohar's cover story, "What Recovery?"—a look at the painful new economic realities, including long-term high unemployment—got nearly 3,000 Facebook likes and sparked panel discussions on Fox News and MSNBC, 500 tweets and 300 comments on *TIME.com*, where readers blamed corporations, politicians and even entire states. ("Californians are responsible for the mess," wrote one). Also generating buzz were Adam Zagorin's piece on a secret grand jury investigation into possible CIA war crimes at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison and "Hike Naked: Germany Opens New, Nude-Friendly Nature Trails," which drove traffic and commentary all week. Sample irate post: "Why is it the people who want to be nude are the ones you never want to see nude?"

## TIME.com

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The Seeds of Hitler's Hate: Infamous 1919 Genocide Letter Unveiled to the Public

Photo-Essay: A History of Google Doodles

I have always enjoyed Joel Stein, but his Anthony Weiner column won the prize. I laughed hysterically, and I want Stein to know that an 89-year-old woman had one of the best moments of her life.

Jane Phelan, TEMPLE CITY, CALIF.

## Business Dinners as Usual

Michael Scherer's "Grin and Bear It" was excellent [June 20]. The photograph that accompanied it—of President Obama, John Boehner and Nancy Pelosi enjoying a leisurely fine meal—shows exactly why our politicians are completely out of touch with the general population. Let them eat at McDonald's. President Clinton did.

John Eames, OLIVE BRANCH, MISS.

## Logomotion

I was amused to see the variety of Google logos displayed in your story ["Doodle Dandy," June 20]. However, as a high school chemistry teacher, I had hoped that under "Science" you would feature the chemistry logo from March 31, honoring the 200th birthday of Robert Bunsen, creator of the Bunsen burner. My students certainly enjoyed this animated logo, complete with bubbling!

Kathleen J. Dombink, ST. LOUIS

## Kevoorkian's Legacy

I mourn the death of Dr. Jack Kevoorkian [Milestone, June 20]. I think it is time that the U.S. seriously consider a legal means of terminating the lives of those who suffer from incurable diseases.

Syed Nasir Burney, CHEEKTOWAGE, N.Y.

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In a graphic in "What Recovery?" showing the lag between economic and job recovery, we stated that recovery from the 2001 recession was 30 months [June 20]. It was in fact 39 months.

## WRITE TO US

Send an e-mail: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com).

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For adults with COPD who have had an exacerbation, ADVAIR® may help reduce the number of exacerbations and significantly improve lung function for better breathing\* all day.

ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for adults with COPD, including chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS is not for, and should not be used to treat, sudden, severe symptoms of COPD. It won't replace a rescue inhaler. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR twice a day. Higher doses will not provide additional benefits.

ADVAIR contains two medicines — an anti-inflammatory, and a long-acting bronchodilator — that work together to help you breathe better. Your results may vary. Talk to your doctor about how you could be doing more to treat your COPD with ADVAIR. To learn more, visit [ADVAIR.com](http://ADVAIR.com) or call 866-467-3624.

## Important Safety Information

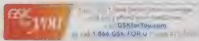
- Do not use ADVAIR to treat sudden, severe symptoms of COPD. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms.
- Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS if you have severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- **Do not use ADVAIR more often than prescribed. Do not take ADVAIR with other medicines that contain long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists for any reason.** Tell your doctor about medicines you take and about all of your medical conditions.
- **ADVAIR can cause serious side effects, including:**
  - **serious allergic reactions.** Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction: rash; hives; swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue; breathing problems.
  - **sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine.**
  - **effects on heart:** increased blood pressure; a fast and irregular heartbeat; chest pain.
  - **effects on nervous system:** tremor; nervousness.
  - **reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy).**
  - **changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells).**
  - **weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections.** You should avoid exposure to chickenpox and measles, and, if exposed, consult your healthcare provider without delay. Worsening of existing tuberculosis, fungal, bacterial, viral, or parasitic infections, or ocular herpes simplex may occur.
  - **lower bone mineral density.** This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
  - **eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts.** You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR.
  - **pneumonia.** People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your doctor if you notice any of the following symptoms: increase in mucus (sputum) production; change in mucus color; fever; chills; increased cough; increased breathing problems.
- **Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 for COPD include:** thrush in the mouth and throat, throat irritation, hoarseness and voice changes, viral respiratory infections, headache, and muscle and bone pain.

Please see Brief Summary of Important Safety Information about ADVAIR DISKUS on adjacent page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.



**ADVAIR** DISKUS<sup>™</sup> 250/50  
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)



# ADVAIR DISKUS™

(fluticasone propionate and salmeterol) inhalation powder)

BRIEF  
SUMMARY

This summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment. See full Prescribing Information for complete product information.

## What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:

1. People with asthma who take long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, reduces the risk of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol.
2. Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You may need different treatment.
3. Get emergency medical care if:
  - breathing problems worsen quickly and
  - you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.
4. ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as inhaled corticosteroids.
5. When your asthma is well controlled, your healthcare provider may tell you to stop taking ADVAIR DISKUS. Your healthcare provider will decide if you can stop ADVAIR DISKUS without loss of asthma control. Your healthcare provider may prescribe a different asthma control medicine for you, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.
6. Children and adolescents who take LABA medicines may have an increased risk of being hospitalized for asthma problems.

## What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS combines an inhaled corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) (the same medicine found in FLOVENT®), and a LABA medicine, salmeterol (the same medicine found in SERVENT®).
- Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.
- LABA medicines are used in people with asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.
- ADVAIR DISKUS is used for asthma and COPD as follows:

### Asthma

ADVAIR DISKUS is used to control symptoms of asthma and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children aged 4 years and older.

ADVAIR DISKUS contains salmeterol (the same medicine found in SERVENT®). LABA medicines, such as salmeterol, increase the risk of death from asthma problems.

ADVAIR DISKUS is not for adults and children with asthma who are well controlled with an asthma control medicine, such as a low to medium dose of an inhaled corticosteroid medicine.

### COPD

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is used long term, 2 times each day to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

## Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

- to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD.

- if you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

## What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby.
- are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products
- are exposed to chickenpox or measles

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take ritonavir. The anti-HIV medicines NORVIR® (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, NORVIR (ritonavir oral solution), and KALETRA® (lopinavir/ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

## How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

- Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider.
- Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed. ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider has prescribed the one that is best for your condition.
- The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation 2 times each day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.

- If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness.
- If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.
- While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS 2 times each day, do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS or other asthma medicines unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed.

ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have an inhaled, short-acting bronchodilator, call your healthcare provider for one you prescribed for you.

## Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS
- you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often than usual
- your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your rescue inhaler medicine for 2 or more days in a row
- you use 1 whole canister of your rescue inhaler medicine in 8 weeks' time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare

- provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week

## What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:
  - See "What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?"
- serious allergic reactions. Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction:
  - rash
  - hives
  - swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue
  - breathing problems
- sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine
- effects on heart
  - increased blood pressure
  - a fast and irregular heartbeat
  - chest pain
- effects on nervous system
  - tremor
  - nervousness
- reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy)
- changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)
- weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections
- low bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
- eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often.
- pneumonia. People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms:
  - increase in mucus (sputum) production
  - change in mucus color
  - fever
  - chills
  - increased cough
  - increased breathing problems

## Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS include:

- | Asthma:                             | COPD:                            |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| • upper respiratory tract infection | • thrush in the mouth and throat |
| • throat irritation                 | • throat irritation              |
| • hoarseness and voice changes      | • hoarseness and voice changes   |
| • thrush in the mouth and throat    | • viral respiratory infections   |
| • bronchitis                        | • headache                       |
| • cough                             | • muscle and bone pain           |
| • headache                          |                                  |
| • nausea and vomiting               |                                  |

In children with asthma, infections in the ear, nose, and throat are common.

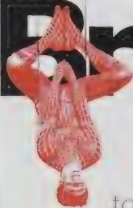
Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll free) at 1-888-825-5249 or at [www.advaair.com](http://www.advaair.com).



# Briefing



'I want to announce tonight President Obama is a one-term President.'

1. **MICHELE BACHMANN**, Republican presidential hopeful and Tea Party favorite, during the first major GOP debate of the 2012 campaign

'Everyone looks at them and says, "That's Gabby. She's back. She was never gone. She's just been away from us for a while."'

2. **P.K. WEIS**, the photojournalist who took the first pictures of Representative Gabrielle Giffords to be published since she was shot in Tucson, Ariz., in January

'The magic flute is broken. After 20 years, Italians have stopped following Berlusconi's music.'

3. **EZIO MAURO**, editor of *La Repubblica*, a left-leaning Italian newspaper, writing after referendum results dealt a blow to scandal-plagued Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi

'If we thought it would take this long, there is not a chance on earth we'd have done it.'

4. **BONO**, lead singer of U2, who co-wrote the music and lyrics for Broadway's troubled *Spider-Man: Turn Off the Dark*, which officially—and finally—opened June 14

'We have to take things one atom at a time.'

5. **PAUL KAROL**, chairman of the international panel that welcomed two new elements to the periodic table earlier this month; the elements, 114 and 116, still await official names



## 40

Years since the Pentagon Papers were leaked to and published by the New York Times: the government's secret 7,000-page report on Vietnam was released in full on June 13



## 780

Age of a relic stolen from a Catholic church in Long Beach, Calif.; it belonged to St. Anthony of Padua, the patron saint of ... lost objects

## 24%

Increase in baggage fees collected by U.S. airlines in 2010, compared with 2009: last year carriers brought in \$3.4 billion from such fees



## \$15,000

Estimated savings for the Carlisle Area School District in Pennsylvania from having sheep graze on its lawns, landscape its grounds, reports the Patriot-News



Briefing

# LightBox

**Sylvan idyll**

*A butterfly wings over flowers in Arizona's Apache National Forest. Nearby, one of the worst wildfires in the state's history smolders.*

© 2009 KIM LINDSEY FOR NESTLE LINDSAY



# World

## NATO Scrambles to Topple Gaddafi

**LIBYA** Three months of war against the regime of Muammar Gaddafi have backed the Libyan dictator into a corner, but his stubborn refusal to leave office has raised international fears that the war has bogged down. NATO and other Western officials insisted at meetings that ground troops would not be needed to oust Gaddafi. The war effort has been intensified with the deployment of helicopter gunships capable of more precise targeting of Gaddafi's military positions. A brief chess match between the dictator and an eccentric Russian politician did little to ease pressure on Tripoli. Germany, which was slow to follow European allies like France into the war, chose to recognize the rebels as Libya's legitimate rulers June 13.



### NALUT

Despite rocket strikes by Gaddafi forces, rebels in the western mountains advanced east toward Tripoli

### TRIPOLI

Gaddafi's capital has come under steady attack by NATO aircraft; Libyan state agencies claim 800 civilians have died

### ZLITAN

Officials in the rebel-held port of Misratah warned of a looming Gaddafi crackdown on the city of Zlitan, on the road to Tripoli

*Libyan rebels take a break from combat in the Nafusa mountains in the country's west*

## An Asian Giant's Growing Pains

**CHINA** A scuffle between migrant street vendors and security personnel near China's southern metropolis of Guangzhou sparked a series of riots and the detention of 25 people. The unrest comes amid a wave of social upheaval, which many ascribe to widespread anger at growing inequalities in the country as well as frustration with corrupt local officials.

## Police Hunt For Activist Hackers

**THURSDAY** Authorities seized 32 people believed to belong to the global hacker collective Anonymous, which has targeted the websites of corporations and nation-states, including Turkey. Days earlier, three hackers suspected of various acts of sabotage were detained in Spain. In response, hackers briefly shut down Spain's main police site.



*An Anonymous supporter in Spain*

## World by the Numbers

**6**  
**BRAZIL** Murders connected to an intensifying conflict between farmers and loggers in the Amazon region since May

### \$6.6 billion

IRAQ U.S. cash, sent to Iraq after the 2003 invasion, that was allegedly stolen or is otherwise unaccounted for

### 45.2%

**ISRAEL** Unemployment rate in the second half of 2010 in Gaza, the Palestinian territory blockaded for five years by Israel

### 53

**NEPAL** Land-mine fields planted during a decade-long civil war; the last area was cleared June 14

### 23.6

**THE PHILIPPINES** Height, in inches (59.9 cm), of Junrey Balawing, named the world's shortest man on his 18th birthday





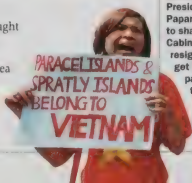
## For a Bleeding Nation, Comfort in Protest

**MEXICO** Thousands took part in a weeklong Caravan of Solace campaign in which activists traveled the country, holding rallies in cities to protest rampant drug-related violence and the government's inability to curb the cartels. Above, at a stop in Ciudad Juárez, campaigners mourn innocent women slain during the drug war.

## Spat over Disputed Waters Escalates

**VIETNAM** Tensions over the South China Sea, which is claimed in part by six countries, flared once more. Southeast Asian states have warily watched China, which considers the sea an integral part of its territory, build up its naval prowess and assert its claims aggressively in recent years. Not shrinking from the challenge, Vietnam's navy practiced live-fire exercises June 13—an act Beijing deemed provocative. The two countries dispute ownership of the Spratly and Paracel archipelagos and have fought bloody engagements over them in the past. Anti-Chinese protests over the sea also took place in the Philippines.

A demonstrator in Hanoi asserts Vietnam's claim



## Is Greece About to Go Bust?

**GREECE** Mass protests and stiff political opposition met the government's attempt to push through a new round of austerity measures. The cuts—up to \$40 billion worth—are necessary for debt-ridden Greece to get fresh loans from the International Monetary Fund. President George Papandreou offered to shake up his Cabinet and even resign if it would get the legislation passed. Failure to do so would plunge the entire euro zone into crisis.

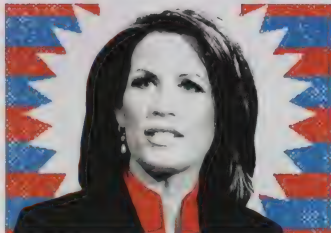


Refugees flee south following fighting along the border

## Ghost of Darfur in the Borderlands

**SUDAN** An agreement between northern and southern Sudan to demilitarize the boundary between them ahead of the South's formal independence in July did little to dampen worsening violence on the border. Northern forces bombed the province of South Kordofan; although it is part of northern Sudan, the province is home to ethnic groups sympathetic to the South. Some 140,000 people have fled the North's offensive in the border regions. Aid groups draw parallels to ethnic cleansing and displacements seen earlier in the western Sudanese region of Darfur.

# Nation



## The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

**Why has Michele Bachmann suddenly become the It candidate?** With her impressive New Hampshire debate performance, Bachmann has gone from a conservative Sarah Palin-lite curiosity to a potential game changer. For two hours onstage with her GOP rivals, Bachmann appeared polished, serene and in command. Her smooth performance was partly the work of a top-shelf team of veteran advisers (manager Ed Rollins, pollster Ed Goetz, forensic coach Brett O'Donnell). They sanded down some of her rough edges but let Bachmann be Bachmann, complete with zinging anti-Obama applause lines and sunny-side-up conservatism.

**Does she have a shot at the nomination?** Not a great shot but a real one. If Tim Pawlenty fails to catch fire, Jon Huntsman flames out and Rick Perry and Palin take a pass, Bachmann can win the Iowa caucuses and head into a one-on-one matchup with front runner Mitt Romney. She may also benefit from being the only woman in a testosterone-fueled field. Unlike previous insurgents who fell short (Pat Buchanan, Mike Huckabee), Bachmann is a formidable fundraiser who should be able to buy plenty of TV airtime to go with an energized ground game.

**What does she need to do now?** Keep emphasizing her outsider-in-Washington cred and her experience fighting Obama—and, before that, George W. Bush when he deviated from the rightward path. Trust in her strategists' plans to make her seem like a plausible nominee and President. Most of all: avoid the kinds of gaffes, misstatements, self-promotional moments and wacky behavior that would cause the media and many traditional Republicans to—once again—write her off.

## IMMIGRATION

### A Phony War on Deportation?

On June 14, Barack Obama became the first U.S. President in a half-century to make an official visit to Puerto Rico. It was an overture not just to the island's 3.7 million residents but also to the 4.6 million Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., many of whom are eligible to vote. Most of those voters are unhappy with the President's immigration policies. Since 2009, nearly 1 million people have been deported from the U.S., including almost 400,000

in the past 12 months alone—and almost as many as during George W. Bush's entire second term. One reason for the rising total is Obama's Secure Communities program, a central tool for identifying undocumented immigrants who have been convicted of crimes.

In recent weeks, some states have attempted to extricate themselves from the controversial program. Democratic governors of three states with large Latino populations—

Illinois, New York and Massachusetts—have announced plans to stop participating in Secure Communities. Opponents say the program raises the potential for ethnic profiling, inhibits prospective witnesses from stepping forward to report crimes and often ensnares the wrong people. Half of those deported because of Boston's Secure Communities program were later identified

as noncriminals. "We run a serious risk," Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick said recently, of "fracturing incredibly important relationships in communities."

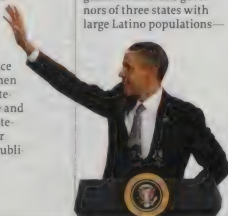
While mending those rifts is crucial if Democrats hope to retain Hispanic votes next year, the states' decisions to opt out may have little practical effect. States cannot simply exit a federal program, and even those that don't like Secure Communities will continue to share data with the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security.

If Democratic governors are fearful of the political consequences of alienating Latinos, the Obama Administration doesn't appear to be: about 156,000 people have been deported from January to May 2011, a slight increase from the same period last year. Obama said in El Paso, Texas, in May, "Even as we recognize that enforcing the law is necessary, we don't relish the pain that it causes." That's a pain he may not feel until 2012.

—STEVEN GRAY

**11.2  
MILLION**

Estimated number of undocumented immigrants in the U.S.



# GOLF

# FAB FOURSOME BRACKET CHALLENGE

Who is America's No. 1 celebrity foursome? **YOU DECIDE!**

**Vote Now** on [Golf.com/fabfour](http://Golf.com/fabfour) or [Facebook.com/Sl.Golf](http://Facebook.com/Sl.Golf) and the top picks will be revealed in the No. 1 issue of GOLF Magazine in October.

**ENTER TO WIN** a trip for four to meet **WILL FERRELL** and play in his Pebble Beach charity golf event



## No. 1 GOLF FAB FOURSOME BRACKET CHALLENGE

### PERSONAL PICKS

Jimmy Fallon  
Jimmy Kimmel  
Michael Douglas  
Catherine Zeta-Jones  
Bill Murray  
Adam Sandler  
Jack Nicholson  
Curt Eastwood  
Will Ferrell  
Mark Wahlberg  
Jessica Alba  
Justin Timberlake  
Justin Bieber  
Snoop Dogg  
Halle Berry  
Dan Patrick

### CELEBRITY PICKS

Donald Trump  
Ivanka Trump  
Barack Obama  
John Boehner  
Mark Zuckerberg  
George Bush Sr.  
George Bush Jr.  
Bill Clinton  
Rush Limbaugh  
Condoleezza Rice  
Billy Rayne  
Arnold Schwarzenegger  
Bill Gates  
Warren Buffett  
Sandra Day O'Connor

### WILL FERRELL PICKS

Arnold Palmer  
Phil Mickelson  
Butch Harmon  
Hank Haney  
Tiger Woods  
Jack Nicklaus  
Bryl McIlroy  
Ian Poulter  
Paula Creamer  
Michelle Wie  
Natalie Gulbis  
Fred Couples  
Nick Faldo  
David Feherty  
Lee Trevino  
Ricky Fowler

### WILL FERRELL PICKS

Peyton Manning  
 Tom Brady  
 Charles Barkley  
 Shaquille O'Neal  
 Michael Jordan  
 Wayne Gretzky  
 Roger Clemens  
 Ben Roethlisberger  
 Larry Bird  
 Michael Phelps  
 Jerry Rice  
 Lindsay Vonn  
 Lawrence Taylor  
 Tony Stomo  
 Rafael Nadal  
 Drew Brees

**HOW TO VOTE:** Beginning on June 13, cast your vote on [Golf.com/fabfour](http://Golf.com/fabfour) or on [Facebook.com/Sl.Golf](http://Facebook.com/Sl.Golf).

**ENTER FOR A CHANCE TO WIN** "Your Ultimate Golf Foursome" Sweepstakes @ [Golf.com/ultimate4](http://Golf.com/ultimate4) and put together your own personal foursome. The sweepstakes winner and three guests will be custom fit with a new driver and get to play in the Will Ferrell Invitational—to benefit Cancer for College—at Pebble Beach from Oct. 28-30. The Sweepstakes prize includes airfare, two nights' lodging, two rounds of golf and breakfast and dinner with Will Ferrell himself. Secondary prizes: 100 \$50 Golfsmith® gift cards. Official retail partner Golfsmith.



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Invitational  
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Cancer  
for College

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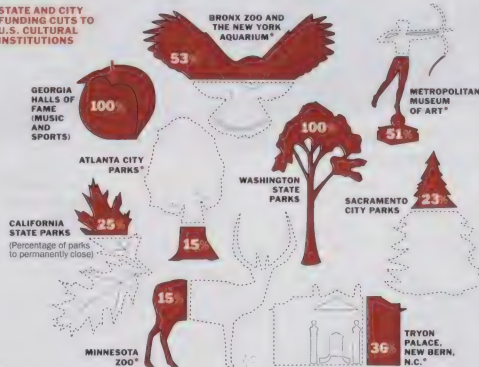


# Economy

## Cut It Out. For many cultural destinations, budget cuts will make for a long summer

Anytime state or city budget cuts are proposed, parks, museums and cultural institutions seem to be the first places threatened. As families go on vacations (or staycations) this summer, 2011 may be the worst year financially for a number of such destinations around the country. In California, 70 of the state's 278 parks will close by the fall. In Georgia, two halls of fame honoring sports and music figures will lose all their state funding by July 1. (In fact, the music hall has already closed.) And in New York City, the budgets of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Aquarium and the Bronx Zoo will almost surely get axed. —JOSH SANBURN

STATE AND CITY FUNDING CUTS TO U.S. CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS



\*Proposed cuts

## RECOVERY (Not) Feeling China's economic slowdown will hurt the U.S. less than the rest

The sputtering U.S. recovery is worrisome enough. Now a looming slowdown in China, the world's growth engine, threatens to make things worse. Faced with rising inflation fueled by what appeared to be a real estate bubble, Chinese authorities have been hiking interest rates and clamping down on credit, which has put the brakes on gangbuster growth. Some predict China's economy will slow to a relative trot of 8.7% growth next year,

down from 10.1% in 2010. That spells trouble for countries that supply China's export machine, like Thailand, Vietnam and Germany. The impact on the U.S. won't be as big. American exports to China are growing but account for only 4.5% of the total. Falling demand from China could lower commodity prices, hurting U.S. industries like farming and mining. But it could also help U.S. consumers, especially at the pump. —ROYA WOLVERSON

## EXPECTATIONS

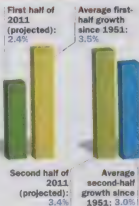
### Rebound Realities. History suggests 2011 will disappoint

Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke expects the economy, which has slowed lately, to rebound in the second half of the year. He's not alone. In a recent poll, forecasters predicted U.S. GDP will grow 3.4% in the second half of 2011, nearly double the rate of the first three months. How likely is that? Not very.

Since 1951 the economy has grown 20% faster in the first half of the year than in the second. Of course, 2011 could break the trend. The economy has been dealt a hazardous mix of Japan's nuclear disaster, Middle Eastern unrest, the U.S.'s extreme weather and high gas prices. The result: GDP grew just 1.8% in the first quarter. Other economic indicators remain weak too.

Still, luxury retail numbers are up, raising hopes that the richest Americans (who account for more than 50% of consumer spending) could shop the U.S. to recovery. That would take a lot of shopping: to hit those optimistic GDP estimates, the economic-growth rate would have to double in the second half of the year. How often has that happened? In the past 60 years, 12 times. Bottom line: expect more disappointment. —STEPHEN GANDEL

## GDP GROWTH: 2011 VS. HISTORY



# Health & Science



## CSI TV. Is sitting in front of the tube for hours really bad for your health?

By Alice Park

IT'S OUR GUILTY PLEASURE: WATCHING TV IS THE MOST COMMON EVERYDAY activity, after work and sleep, in many parts of the world. Americans view a whopping five hours of TV each day, and while we know that spending so much time sitting passively can lead to obesity and other diseases, researchers have now quantified just how harmful being a couch potato can be.

In an analysis of data from eight large previously published studies, a Harvard-led group reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* that for every two hours per day spent channel surfing, the risk of developing Type 2 diabetes rose 20% over 8½ years, the risk of heart disease increased 15% over a decade, and the odds of dying prematurely climbed 13% during a seven-year follow-up. All of these outcomes are linked to a lack of physical exercise; that's not a revelation. But compared with other sedentary activities, like knitting, viewing TV may be especially effective at promoting unhealthy habits. For one, the sheer number of hours we pass watching TV dwarfs the time we spend on anything else. And other studies have found that watching ads for beer and pretzels may make you more likely to consume them.

Even so, the authors admit that they didn't compare different sedentary activities to determine whether TV watching was linked to a greater risk of diabetes, heart disease or early death compared with, say, reading. They also did not break down the health outcomes by people who watched the same amount of TV but had different levels of physical activity, like those who catch their favorite show while on a treadmill. For them, the health risks may be lower, but as the scientists note, for the most part those who log the most hours watching TV aren't the most physically active.

Sources: *Journal of the American Medical Association*; Associated Professional Sleep Societies meeting; Food and Drug Administration; Population Health Metrics

### SLEEP

## Cool Your Head to Fall Asleep

Can't sleep? You need to chill out. If drawing the shades and cocooning yourself in darkness doesn't help, consider trying a cooling cap.

Researchers report that cooling the brain may help some problem sleepers drift off faster and sleep longer. In a study involving 12 insomniacs and 12 healthy sleepers, when the troubled sleepers wore specially designed caps that circulated water at cool temperatures, they fell asleep about as quickly as the normal sleepers did. The chiller the water, the better those with insomnia slept.

The results support earlier findings that restless sleepers tend to show higher than normal brain activity in the frontal cortex—a region responsible for planning and reasoning—while they're trying to doze off. The heightened activity raises the brain's temperature just as the body starts to cool off at the end of the day to promote sleep. Cognitive behavioral therapy and drugs like melatonin can also help troubled sleepers get more rest, but cooling the brain may be one more way to get people to fall asleep and stay asleep—until morning. —A.P.



### SKIN CANCER

## Clearer Labels for Sunscreens

Two words, sun worshippers: *broad spectrum*. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has issued new rules to help simplify confusing sunscreen labels. Manufacturers will be required to test their products' effectiveness against two types of the sun's damaging rays, UVA and UVB. Products that screen both will be labeled as offering broad-spectrum protection. Sunscreens that are both broad spectrum and have an SPF of 15 or higher will also be permitted to claim—for the first time—that they can help reduce the risk of skin cancer and early skin aging. Expect the new labels by next summer. —A.P.

### VITAL SIGNS

# 80%

Percentage of the more than 3,000 U.S. counties in a study in which life-expectancy gains failed to keep pace with the average increase among the 10 nations with the highest life expectancies



# Milestones



## DIED M.F. Husain

Husainsaab, as people called him, personified the turbulent history of 20th century India. The best known modern Indian painter, he created by his own admission some 60,000 works of art in his 95 years. But toward the end, which came on June 9, he was forced to seek asylum in Qatar, out of fear for his life in the world's largest democracy. He was fascinated by Hindu goddesses, and that got him into trouble with fanatics who sued him under the pretext that he was "hurting the sentiments" of Hindus by painting nude figures of female deities. They ransacked his studio and attacked his children. In the end, he died of a broken heart. India will forever be shamed for the way it treated him.

But M.F. Husain was bigger than the controversy that others manufactured around him. He was the first local artist whose work rich Indians had the confidence to exhibit in their drawing rooms. Husain took very Indian themes—Bollywood, horses, *The Mahabharata*—and made them universally salable. His paintings were a portrait, in some cases literal, of modern India: fractured, alluring, energetic and pullulating with the mythology of movies and politics. —SUKETU MEHTA

Mehta, the author of *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*, teaches at NYU

## DIED

Clara Luper, 88, a civil rights leader who led the earliest sit-ins to integrate lunch counters in Oklahoma; she was arrested 26 times for her civil rights protests.

## WON

The NBA championship, by the Dallas Mavericks; the series MVP, won his first title after 13 seasons in which he was named an All-Star 10 times.

## RETIRED

The U.S. Army's black beret, after 10 years of serving as standard daily headgear for troops.



## DIED

Gunnar Fläcker, 100, a Swedish cinematographer who shot for famed director Ingmar Bergman; their film *The Seventh Seal* ranks among the best of all time.

## REVEALED

Political blogger A Gay Girl in Damascus, to be a 40-year-old American man in Scotland; the blog chronicled alleged oppression of minorities in Syria.

## DIED

Trouble, 12 (84 in dog years), the Maltese that inherited \$12 million from owner Leona Helmsley in 2007; the canine heiress had retired to Florida.

## ARRESTED

Five informants who helped lead the CIA to Osama bin Laden, by Pakistani intelligence, further deteriorating Pakistan-U.S. relations following the bin Laden raid.

## DIED

### Leonard Stern

When recounting a moment of inspiration, some compare it to a thunderclap: sudden, startling, stunning. *Mad Libs* arrived with a guffaw. The series of books—composed of stories that feature blank spaces where readers can fill in their own words—was co-created by Leonard Stern, who died June 7 at age 88. One day in 1953, Stern was writing a television screenplay when he asked humorist and office mate Roger Price for an adjective, not revealing that it would describe a character's nose. *Clumsy and naked* were the replies. Since the duo's first, self-published set of books that year, *Mad Libs* has grown to 120 volumes that have sold 150 million copies. Stern, also an award-winning TV director and producer, taught generations about the variety of language and the necessity of humor. —NATE RAWLINGS



## DIED

### Patrick Leigh Fermor

To describe Patrick Leigh Fermor, who died on June 10 at age 96, as a travel writer is like saying Maria Callas could carry a tune. It wasn't just that his books were wise, beautifully observed



pieces of nonfiction. It was that writing and travel were only parts of his renown. A linguist, novelist, soldier, conversationalist and romantic, he left school at 18 to walk across Europe, a tale he told later in two books, *A Time of Gifts* and *From the Woods to the Water*. He had a good war, taking part in a famous feat of derring-do in Crete in 1944, and then, in the 1950s, won acclaim for his writing. What did Leigh Fermor do best? He lived a great life. —MICHAEL ELLIOTT

# Rana Foroohar



## Why the World Isn't Getting Smaller

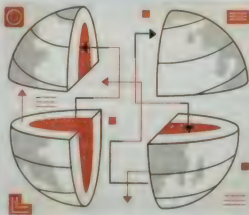
Politics is local. So is economics. They may become more so as the world gets richer

**T**IS THE SEASON TO BE SELFISH. RIGHT after the global financial crisis exploded in 2008, many economists fretted that countries looking to hold on to their share of a shrinking pie would become more self-interested and protectionist, plunging the planet into an even sharper downturn, just as happened in the 1930s after the Great Depression. Thanks to panic-fueled crisis management by policymakers, it didn't happen. But after three years of pain and very little economic gain, it may be happening now.

The signs are everywhere. Europeans are in the middle of a potentially calamitous debt crisis, one that threatens not only the survival of the euro zone but the idea of the European Union itself: politicians are starting to talk about rolling back visa-free travel between countries. Meanwhile, OPEC is falling apart as the Saudis and the Iranians bicker over how to control the world's energy spigots. (Result: higher oil prices for all of us.) Then there's the rise of populist politics not only in the U.S. but throughout the rest of the world. Anti-E.U. political parties are gaining support around Europe, and despite the recent overthrow of several Middle Eastern strongmen, nationalism is on the rise in places like China, Brazil and Russia.

**All of which underscores the point that** globalization, if we define it as the free movement of goods, people and money, was never all it was cracked up to be. The world is just not as flat as pundits would have us think. More than half of global trade, investment and migration still takes place within regions—much of it between neighboring countries. Canada is the U.S.'s biggest trading partner. In his very smart book *World 3.0*,

Pankaj Ghemawat, a professor at the IESE Business School in Spain, tallied up a few telling numbers. Some 80% of global stock-market investment, for example, is in companies that are headquartered in the investor's home country. Exports make up only about a quarter of the global economy. Only 2% of students attend a university outside their home country. Less than 20% of Internet traffic crosses national borders,



and so on. "It's considered very with it and modern to believe that the world is becoming more unified, but if anything, it's becoming more fragmented," says Ghemawat.

Some of this reflects the fact that rich countries, especially the U.S., are still much more provincial than you might think, and the political trend in an economic downturn is to become more so—witness the rise of anti-immigrant rhetoric, China bashing and the like. Even multinational corporations, those global emissaries of American capitalism, could be a lot more diverse. Only 7% of the directors of *Fortune* 500 firms are foreigners.

But greater economic and political

fragmentation is also, ironically, a ripple effect of globalization. As wealth and power have shifted to the emerging markets, those nations now have the money and confidence to call their own shots—and their calls tend to be quite different from those we would make.

Already this is reflected in company and consumer behavior. Firms like Hermès, General Motors, Levi Strauss and Coca-Cola rigorously tailor products specifically for emerging market consumers. Pizza Hut in China is a luxury restaurant complete with white tablecloths and cutlery. For poor countries, Hewlett-Packard makes a "rural" laptop that can be set out in the dust and rain.

### The big-picture implications

are more profound. As developing countries become wealthier and vie for a better seat on the global stage, they are often at odds not only with rich nations but also with each other. Consider Brazil's anger over a flood of cheap Chinese imports, India and China's wariness over each other's military ambitions and the uneasy regional alliances within Asia among countries vying for the same manufacturing jobs.

That doesn't mean globalization's a bust. In fact, more of it—in the form of freer markets,

lower trade barriers and unfettered immigration—would help alleviate tensions by growing the economic pie. Good luck with that. As they see inequality rise within individual societies (even as the world's resources taken as a whole are being more equally shared), voters have become convinced that the benefits of globalization flow mainly to the rich down the street.

And it's that local scene that matters. Our sense of our own reality is shaped in relation to our neighbors, not to the state of those far away, who, in many cases, are living lives that are better, richer, happier and more prosperous than they could ever have dreamed.



THE MOST ENTICING THING ABOUT A CAR'S INTERIOR  
SHOULD NOT BE ITS

**NEW-CAR SMELL**


THE NEW 2011 JOURNEY

**DODGE**  **NEVER NEUTRAL**



Goldman  
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HOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF  
AN ARENA IN LOUISVILLE



IS BUILDING BUSINESSES  
ALL OVER TOWN

▶ PROGRESS IS EVERYONE'S BUSINESS

When Louisville wanted to build a state-of-the-art arena for its beloved college basketball team, we helped make it happen. Our financing strategy enabled the Louisville Arena Authority to raise funds and break ground—creating hundreds of jobs and a job-training program for local workers. Now, the KFC Yum! Center is at the heart of a vibrant downtown scene, where new businesses are opening, existing businesses are expanding and local restaurants are hiring more employees. See the story at [goldmansachs.com/progress](http://goldmansachs.com/progress)



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# Fareed Zakaria



## The GOP's Abstract Professors

Today's conservatives are no longer rooted in the reality of America, past or present

**C**ONSERVATISM IS TRUE." THAT'S what George Will told me when I interviewed him as an eager student many years ago. His formulation might have been a touch arrogant, but Will's basic point was intelligent. Conservatism, he explained, was rooted in reality. Unlike the abstract theories of Marxism and socialism, it started not from an imagined society but from the world as it actually exists. From Aristotle to Edmund Burke, the greatest conservative thinkers have said that to change societies, one must understand them, except them as they are and help them evolve.

Watching this election campaign, one wonders what has happened to that tradition. Conservatives now espouse ideas drawn from abstract principles with little regard to the realities of America's present or past. This is a tragedy, because conservatism has an important role to play in modernizing the U.S.

**Consider the debates over the economy.** The Republican prescription is to cut taxes and slash government spending—then things will bounce back. Now, it would like to see lower rates in the context of tax simplification and reform, but what is the evidence that tax cuts are the best path to revive the U.S. economy? Taxes—federal and state combined—as a percentage of GDP are at their lowest level since 1950. The U.S. is among the lowest taxed of the big industrial economies. So the case that America is grinding to a halt because of high taxation is not based on facts but is simply a theoretical assertion. The rich countries that are in the best shape right now, with strong growth and low unemployment, are ones like Germany and Denmark, neither one characterized by low taxes.

Many Republican businessmen have

told me that the Obama Administration is the most hostile to business in 50 years. Really? More than that of Richard Nixon, who presided over tax rates that reached 70%, regulations that spanned whole industries, and who actually instituted price and wage controls?

In fact, right now any discussion of government involvement in the economy—even to build vital infrastructure—is impossible because it is a cardinal tenet



of the new conservatism that such involvement is always and forever bad. Meanwhile, across the globe, the world's fastest growing economy, China, has managed to use government involvement to create growth and jobs for three decades. From Singapore to South Korea to Germany to Canada, evidence abounds that some strategic actions by the government can act as catalysts for free-market growth.

Of course, American history suggests that as well. In the 1950s, '60s and '70s, the U.S. government made massive investments in science and technology, in state universities and in infant industries. It built infrastructure that was the envy of

the rest of the world. Those investments triggered two generations of economic growth and put the U.S. on top of the world of technology and innovation.

But that history has been forgotten. When considering health care, for example, Republicans confidently assert that their ideas will lower costs, when we simply do not have much evidence for this. What we do know is that of the world's richest countries, the U.S. has by far the greatest involvement of free markets and the private sector in health care. It also consumes the largest share of GDP, with no significant gains in health on any measurable outcome. We need more market mechanisms to cut medical costs, but Republicans don't bother to study ex-

isting health care systems anywhere else in the world. They resemble the old Marxists, who refused to look around at actual experience. "I know it works in practice," the old saw goes, "but does it work in theory?"

**Conservatives used to be the ones** with heads firmly based in reality. Their reforms were powerful because they used the market, streamlined government and empowered individuals. Their effects were large-scale and important: the reform of the tax code in the 1980s, for example, which was spearheaded by conservatives. Today conservatives shy away from the sensible ideas of the Bowles-

Simpson commission on deficit reduction because those ideas are too deeply rooted in, well, reality. Does anyone think we are really going to get federal spending to the level it was at under Calvin Coolidge, as Paul Ryan's plan assumes? Does anyone think we will deport 11 million people?

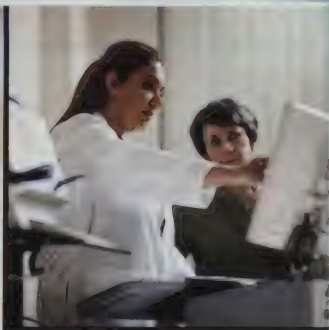
We need conservative ideas to modernize the U.S. economy and reform American government. But what we have instead are policies that don't reform but just cut and starve government—a strategy that pays little attention to history or best practices from around the world and is based instead on a theory. It turns out that conservatives are the woolly-headed professors after all. ■

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### **IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT PRADAXA**

PRADAXA can cause bleeding which can be serious and sometimes lead to death. Don't take PRADAXA if you currently have abnormal bleeding or if you have ever had an allergic reaction to it. **Your risk of bleeding with PRADAXA may be higher if you:** are 75 years old or older, have kidney problems, have stomach or intestine bleeding that is recent or keeps coming back or you have a stomach ulcer, take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, like aspirin products, non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs) and blood thinners.

**Call your doctor or seek immediate medical care if you have any of the following signs or symptoms of bleeding:** any unexpected, severe, or uncontrollable bleeding; or bleeding that lasts a long time, unusual or unexpected bruising,

coughing up or vomiting blood; or vomit that looks like coffee grounds, pink or brown urine; red or black stools (looks like tar), unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain, headaches and feeling dizzy or weak.

**It is important to tell your doctor about all medicines, vitamins and supplements you take. Some of your other medicines may affect the way PRADAXA works.**

**Take PRADAXA exactly as prescribed by your doctor. Don't stop taking PRADAXA without talking to your doctor as your risk of stroke may increase.**

Tell your doctor if you are planning to have **any** surgery, or medical or dental procedure, because you may have to stop taking PRADAXA for a short time. PRADAXA can cause indigestion, stomach upset or burning, and stomach pain.

**You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda/medwatch](http://www.fda/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088.**

**Please see more detailed Medication Guide on next page.**

*Reduce your risk of a stroke caused by a clot that starts in the heart.*

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CAPSULES



Read this Medication Guide before you start taking PRADAXA and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment.

**What is the most important information I should know about PRADAXA?**

- PRADAXA can cause bleeding which can be serious, and sometimes lead to death. This is because PRADAXA is a blood thinner medicine that lowers the chance of blood clots forming in your body.
- You may have a higher risk of bleeding if you take PRADAXA and:
  - Are over 75 years old
  - Have kidney problems
  - Have stomach or intestine bleeding that is recent or keeps coming back, or you have a stomach ulcer
  - Take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, including:
    - aspirin or aspirin containing products
    - long-term (chronic) use of non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs)
    - warfarin sodium (Coumadin®, Jantoven®)
    - a medicine that contains heparin
    - clopidogrel (Plavix®)
    - prasugrel (Effient®)

Tell your doctor if you take any of these medicines. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above.

- PRADAXA can increase your risk of bleeding because it lessens the ability of your blood to clot. While you take PRADAXA:
  - You may bruise more easily
  - It may take longer for any bleeding to stop

**Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of these signs or symptoms of bleeding:**

- Unexpected bleeding or bleeding that lasts a long time, such as:
  - unusual bleeding from the gums
  - nose bleeds that happen often
  - menstrual bleeding or vaginal bleeding that is heavier than normal
- Bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
- Pink or brown urine
- Red or black stools (looks like tar)
- Bruises that happen without a known cause or get larger
- Cough up blood or blood clots
- Vomit blood or your vomit looks like "coffee grounds"
- Unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain
- Headaches, feeling dizzy or weak

**Take PRADAXA exactly as prescribed. Do not stop taking PRADAXA without first talking to the doctor who prescribes it for you. Stopping PRADAXA may increase your risk of a stroke.**

PRADAXA may need to be stopped, if possible, for one or more days before any surgery, or medical or dental procedure. If you need to stop taking PRADAXA for **any reason**, talk to the doctor who prescribed PRADAXA for you to find out when you should stop taking it. Your doctor will tell you when to start taking PRADAXA again after your surgery or procedure.

**See "What are the possible side effects of PRADAXA?" for more information about side effects.**

**What is PRADAXA?**

PRADAXA is a prescription medicine used to reduce the risk of stroke and blood clots in people who have a medical condition called atrial fibrillation. With atrial fibrillation, part of the heart does not beat the way it should. This can lead to blood clots forming and increase your risk of a stroke. PRADAXA is a blood thinner medicine that lowers the chance of blood clots forming in your body. It is not known if PRADAXA is safe and works in children.

**Who should not take PRADAXA?**

**Do not take PRADAXA if you:**

- Currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding. Talk to your doctor, before taking PRADAXA if you currently have unusual bleeding.
- Have had a serious allergic reaction to PRADAXA. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

**What should I tell my doctor before taking PRADAXA?**

Before you take PRADAXA, tell your doctor if you:

- Have kidney problems
- Have ever had bleeding problems
- Have ever had stomach ulcers
- Have any other medical condition
- Are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if PRADAXA will harm your unborn baby.
- Are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if PRADAXA passes into your breast milk.

Tell all of your doctors and dentists that you are taking PRADAXA. They should talk to the doctor who prescribed PRADAXA for you, before you have **any** surgery, or medical or dental procedure.

**Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.** Some of your other medicines may affect the way PRADAXA works. Certain medicines may increase your risk of bleeding. See "What is the most important information I should know about PRADAXA?"

Especially tell your doctor if you take:

- rifampin (Rifater, Rifamate, Rimactane, Rifadin)

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them and show it to your doctor and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

**How should I take PRADAXA?**

- **Take PRADAXA exactly as prescribed by your doctor.**
- Do not take PRADAXA more often than your doctor tells you to.
- You can take PRADAXA with or without food.
- Swallow PRADAXA capsules whole. Do not break, chew, or empty the pellets from the capsule.
- If you miss a dose of PRADAXA, take it as soon as you remember. If your next dose is less than 6 hours away, skip the missed dose. Do not take two doses of PRADAXA at the same time.
- Your doctor will decide how long you should take PRADAXA. **Do not stop taking PRADAXA without first talking with your doctor. Stopping PRADAXA may increase your risk of stroke.**
- Do not run out of PRADAXA. Refill your prescription before you run out. If you plan to have surgery, or a medical or a dental procedure, tell your doctor and dentist that you are taking PRADAXA. You may have to stop taking PRADAXA for a short time. See "What is the most important information I should know about PRADAXA?"
- If you take too much PRADAXA, go to the nearest hospital emergency room or call your doctor or the Poison Control Center right away.

## What are the possible side effects of PRADAXA?

PRADAXA can cause serious side effects.

- See "What is the most important information I should know about PRADAXA?"
- Allergic Reactions. In some people, PRADAXA can cause symptoms of an allergic reaction, including hives, rash, and itching. Tell your doctor or get medical help right away if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction with PRADAXA:
  - chest pain or chest tightness
  - swelling of your face or tongue
  - trouble breathing or wheezing
  - feeling dizzy or faint

Common side effects of PRADAXA include:

- indigestion, upset stomach, or burning
- stomach pain

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all of the possible side effects of PRADAXA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

## How should I store PRADAXA?

- Store PRADAXA at room temperature between 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C). After opening the bottle, use PRADAXA within 30 days. Safely throw away any unused PRADAXA after 30 days.
- Store PRADAXA in the original package to keep it dry. Keep the bottle tightly closed.

## Keep PRADAXA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

### General information about PRADAXA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use PRADAXA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give your PRADAXA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms. It may harm them.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about PRADAXA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about PRADAXA that is written for health professionals.

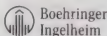
For more information, go to [www.PRADAXA.com](http://www.PRADAXA.com) or call 1-800-542-6257 or (TTY) 1-800-459-9906.

### What are the ingredients in PRADAXA?

Active ingredient: dabigatran etexilate mesylate

Inactive ingredients: acacia, dimethicone, hypromellose, hydroxypropyl cellulose, talc, and tartaric acid. The capsule shell is composed of carrageenan, FD&C Blue No. 2, FD&C Yellow No. 6, hypromellose, titanium dioxide, and black edible ink.

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NATION

# The GOP's New Rules It's the Outsiders vs. the Insiders — and the Outsiders have an in

By Joe Klein

**I'm a believer** Romney launched his presidential bid from a New Hampshire farm





Photographs by Brooks Kraft for TIME

# 'Barack Obama has failed America,'

Mitt Romney said unequivocally at his first New Hampshire town meeting, repeating the signature line of his presidential-campaign announcement speech a day earlier. *Unequivocal* is not a word that traditionally has been associated with the former Massachusetts governor, but that was then, and the retooled edition of candidate Romney is much improved. He proceeded to lay out the economic case against Obama: 16 million out of work, home values collapsed, higher gas and food prices.

In other words, Obama is the grandson of Herbert Hoover and the son of Jimmy Carter. "He's tried," Romney said sorrowfully, a lock of his less-slick-than-last-time hair falling over his forehead. "[But] what he did simply was wrong. He extended the downturn and made it deeper... How is it that President Obama was so wrong? I happen to think that in part he took his inspiration from Europe." Romney continued, citing a litany of Obama's proposals like deficit spending and "federalizing" health care. "He has been awfully European. [But] you know what? European policies don't work there. They sure as heck aren't going to work here. I believe in America! I believe in free enterprise, I believe in capitalism. I believe in the Constitution."

Well, O.K. It wasn't exactly exhilarating, but it was the best of all possible Mitt Romneys. The crowd responded with respectful applause, but not rapture—I've never seen a Republican crowd actually blown away by Romney—and the respect grew as the candidate gave detailed an-

swers to questions from the surprisingly sparse audience. When asked what he'd specifically do about the economy, he had a seven-point plan ready to roll. His answer on budget cutting was standard-issue GOP, but with a humane gloss: "There are lots of programs that I like, that we all like, but we can no longer afford." He barbed the Chinese for manipulating their currency, which was downright brazen for a free-trade Republican. He even challenged Limbaugh Law a bit by suggesting that climate change is real and perhaps even man-made, a little. (King Rush responded by dismissing Romney: "Bye-bye, nomination.") Romney's answers did not seem pre-taped, though they obviously were. They seemed thoughtful and interesting—and far more nuanced than the current conservative repertoire, which allows for no "likable" government programs, no man-made global warming, no assumption of decent intent by a hardworking but wrong President Obama. It is this appeal, which he effectively repeated on June 13 in the first real Republican debate, that might actually attract some independent voters.

IN A NORMAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, this sort of focused and efficient candidacy would be just about all Mitt Romney needs to win the Republican nomination. He is, after all, next in line—just as John McCain was in 2008, and George W. Bush in 2000, and Bob Dole in 1996 and George H.W. Bush in 1988. Even Ronald Reagan, for all the revolutionary talk, was the pri-

mogeniture candidate in 1980, the next in line after Gerald Ford. Romney certainly has problems: he is a Mormon who passed a mandated, universal health care plan in Massachusetts, the direct precursor to Obama's health care reform. But McCain authored campaign-finance reform—sort of like serving pork for Passover, among conservatives—and he believed in global warming too, for a while. And while Romney is not nearly as well loved as Reagan or even George W., McCain wasn't much liked by the Republican establishment either—and Romney has the advantages of money, a smart managerial résumé,







mainstream conservative economic views ... and, well, he sort of looks like a Republican President should.

And yet there is a jittery sense among Republican savants that Romney is a straw man, ready to be toppled, because the party has changed irrevocably. It has traded in country-club aristocracy for pitchfork populism. The Tea Partiers and talk-show hosts who define the new Republican Party believe in the opposite of primogeniture. They believe in the moral purity of political virginity. After Sarah Palin, amateurism has become a Tea Party hallmark. Herman Cain, the African-

**Next in line** Candidate Romney is focused and efficient—but that's no longer enough

American business executive who was the Teasies' flavor of the month—before the debate—emphasizes his total absence of governmental experience, to roars of laughter and approval on the stump. In addition, the very structure of the nominating process has changed. It won't be a stately procession from Iowa to New Hampshire to South Carolina to Florida this time. It will look more like the NCAA basketball tournament, only with two instead of four brackets: the Iowa bracket, which will feature the social-conservative and populist candidates like Minnesota Congresswoman Michele Bachmann and former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum—and perhaps Sarah Palin and Texas Governor Rick Perry; and the New Hampshire bracket, which will feature more-moderate candidates like Romney and former Utah governor Jon Huntsman, focused on the economy. Some, like former Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty, will try to finesse the brackets and play in both, but they are likely to be pulled gravitationally toward one or the other vision of how to win the nomination—Iowa or New Hampshire, populist pitchforkery or center-right plausibility.

#### REAL CANDIDATES VS. MARKETING GENIUSES

THERE WAS A THIRD BRACKET, BUT IT HAS pretty much imploded now. This was the celebrity/reality-TV/talk-show wing of the party—candidates more interested in promoting themselves (or their books, or their TV shows) than in actually running for President. They dominated the early campaign and created the impression that the Republican Party had gone bonkers. There was the Donald Trump moment, during which the sleazeball casino and construction Barnum rose to second in the horse-race polls by cynically questioning Barack Obama's nativity, then fled the field before anyone could investigate his own bona fides. There is the never ending, surreal Sarah Palin Marketing Tour, most recently conducted by bus, rudely stepping on Romney's official announcement by swooping into New Hampshire and stealing the press coverage. There was Newt Gingrich's latest meltdown: he seemed to envisage his campaign as a luxury cruise featuring his Tiffany-bedizened third wife. Worse for Republicans, he handed



**Honk if you love Herman** A Cain supporter makes his way to the first 2012 debate



**Revolutionary zeal** Chewing on issues at a Nashua Republican City Committee gathering



**T-Paw paw** Pawlenty meets a young fan



**Making an entrance** Bachmann used the first Republican debate to announce her bid



**Deep dish** Cain shares a laugh with supporters at Sal's Pizza in Manchester, N.H.



**Busman's holiday** New Hampshire is fertile ground for government skeptic Paul



**Eat to win** Pawlenty's team in Stratham, N.H., made sure locals didn't go away hungry



**Polished performance** Romney leads the pack in money, organization—and reporters in tow

the Democrats a nuclear weapon when he called Paul Ryan's Medicare privatization plan "right-wing social engineering."

The adolescent, steroid-enhanced narcissism of the reality-TV bracket must have been a horrific jolt to actual conservatives—that is, people who are subdued in demeanor, fiscally prudent and skeptical of change. It raised the very un-Republican possibility of chaos. "People say this is a weak field, and that's true: it's not a Hall of Fame field, but we've seen worse, and candidates challenging an incumbent President always seem weak," says Dan Schnur, a former Republican operative and now director of the University of Southern California's Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics. "Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton were both considered weak at this point in the process."

Schnur believes the mild panic over the quality of the Republican field actually represents a deeper anxiety. "What Republicans are really concerned about is the lack of clarity," he says. "Republicans are used to knowing what—and who—comes next. This time, they have no idea." There is, even among Romney admirers, the belief that he lacks the deftness to surf the new wave. "You get the sense that he'll be hanging on by his fingernails in New Hampshire and some new face—who knows who?—will suddenly catch fire in Iowa or pop in New Hampshire," says Mark McKinnon, a strategist who worked on both George W. Bush campaigns. "That's a Democratic sort of scenario. It happened to the Dems in 2004, when John Kerry emerged at the last moment. This is uncharted territory for Republicans."

#### ECONOMIC CONSERVATIVES VS. SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES

THERE WAS SOME EXPECTATION IN THE media that the riot of narcissism would continue in the first real Republican debate, in New Hampshire on June 13, starring Romney as the designated piñata. But that didn't happen. Initial debates are usually tepid affairs, with the candidates hoping to make a pleasant first impression, knowing that there will be a mind-numbing number of similar contests down the road, saving their ammunition for the appropriate moment. Indeed, this debate was defined by a flinch: Pawlenty was asked to elaborate on his snide attack

on Romney's Massachusetts health care plan—he had called it Obamneycare—but he demurred, awkwardly. Pawlenty was thereby caught in the act of acting like a politician, which is the most common mistake inexperienced candidates make when the big lights go on. Romney, by contrast, seemed comfortable in his own skin—the most important positive quality a candidate can display—a far cry from his sweaty robot impersonations in 2008. (This is Romney's not-so-secret advantage over his most plausible opponents: he's done it before.)

But if the debate lacked flash, it was instructive. It set the ideological parameters for the coming campaign. The candidates locked themselves in a philosophical space about the size of Rush Limbaugh's radio studio. It took nearly an hour before any of them spoke well of a government program, when Herman Cain grudgingly acknowledged that the Food and Drug Administration's meat and vegetable inspections were probably a good thing. At one point, Romney made this statement: "I think fundamentally there are some people—and most of them are Democrats, but not all—who really believe that the government knows how to do things better than the private sector. And they happen to be wrong." Which raised the possibility that Romney might want to privatize the military. Everything else certainly seems to be on the table—Cain wants to privatize Social Security; Gingrich wants to privatize NASA; most seem willing to voucherize Medicare along Congressman Paul Ryan's lines.

This ideological purity worked to the advantage of Michele Bachmann, by making her seem less extreme. Bachmann is often linked with Palin as a Tea Party pinup, but she is a different breed of cat: she knows her stuff. She actually gives factual, informed answers. She lacks Palin's bitter, solipsistic edge. She skillfully framed even her most extreme responses in an amenable way, smothering her opposition to abortion in cases of rape and incest within a paean to the sanctity of life. Bachmann also led the pack in opposition to the Libya intervention—and it should be noted that the Republican field was sounding remarkably dovish, with the exception of Santorum, on the subject of foreign wars. Romney said he wants the

troops home from Afghanistan "as quickly as possible," but then remembered he'd better consult the generals first. Newt Gingrich, a traditional war lover, called for a review of U.S. policy in the region rather than plumping for more military kinetics. No one mentioned Iran. This is a fascinating development: the only plausible space for Republicans in the national defense debate may be to Barack Obama's left.

But a nomination race that is comfortable for Bachmann has to be uncomfortable, sooner or later, for the more moderate politicians in the field. Gingrich, amazingly, was the only candidate willing to fly in the face of Limbaugh Law, repeating his worries about Ryan's Medicare plan: "Remember, we all got mad at Obama because he ran over us [on health care reform] when we said don't do it. Well, the Republicans ought to follow the same ground rule. If you can't convince the American people it's a good idea, maybe it's not a good idea." When Newt Gingrich is the voice of reason on a Republican stage, the rightward lurch of the party has become a dangerous, inbred, self-destructive thing.

#### ESTABLISHMENT REPUBLICANS VS. PITCHFORK POPULISTS

ON THE MORNING OF THE DEBATE, Romney unfurled a truly striking campaign ad, in which he blasted Obama for (foolishly) calling the latest awful jobs report "a bump in the road." The ad was set in the desert, with people lying parallel on a lonely highway; at first I thought they were dead, but no, they were human speed bumps. And one by one they got up, holding pieces of paper that told their stories: laid off, recent college graduate, single mom, working three jobs, company gone bankrupt. It was the sort of ad a Democrat might have run in a different cycle, and it effectively hammered home Romney's theme: Obama is Hoover-Carter. This is the single strongest argument the Republicans have going for them in 2012.

But it's only the opening bid. Sooner or later, Romney—or whoever takes him down—is going to have to provide some alternatives, and this is where the party's ideological straitjacket will pinch the tightest. The standard Republican mantra of smaller government, lower taxes, less regulation is nearly as tattered as Obama's Keynesian spending in the face



**Pole position** A volunteer for Santorum's campaign on the road to the Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, Flag Day celebration

of a fierce recession, and yet this crop of candidates seems to be doubling down on it. Bachmann promised to repeal Obamacare, as did Romney, and she wants to abolish the Environmental Protection Agency too. Gingrich wants to defund the National Labor Relations Board. All of them blasted government regulation of the private sector in the debate; the vision of federal twerps descending on hard-working businesspeople and sanctioning them for not filling out every form in triplicate is a powerful image. But it also places the GOP against the regulation of Wall Street, whose excesses caused this mess, and against the protection of consumers from the depredations of credit-card mongers and payday lenders. There was also some free-range union bashing, which may work in New Hampshire but might not go down so well with the blue collar Reagan Democrats who have provided the margin of victory in more than a few recent elections.

There are, I'm happy to report, some limits to all the repealing and defunding. At a New Hampshire campaign stop a few days before the debate, Ron Paul was asked if he would privatize the Grand Canyon. He thought for a second, then said no. "That was a trick question," he asked, "wasn't it?" Indeed, for relatively moderate candidates like Romney and Pawlenty, all the tests of ideological purity are trick questions that will leave them either unworthy of Tea Party support now or untenable in a general election. And so they are forced to endure implausible ideological purification rituals—Pawlenty's recent, silly tax-lowering scheme, for example—or empetrel themselves in order to explain past bouts of political

sanity. Romney's latest defense of his successful universal health care plan in Massachusetts is a particularly grisly example of the latter: it was O.K. for him to impose an individual mandate but wrong for the President to do the exact same thing, because health care is a problem that should be left to the states to solve in their own ways. That leaves Romney open to an obvious question: Does he also intend to destroy Medicare by sending it back to the states?

The other option for Republican moderates is to tap-dance. In the debate, Romney walked the tightrope on raising the federal government's debt ceiling. "I believe we will not raise the debt ceiling unless the President finally, finally is willing to be a leader on issues that the American people care about ... And the American people and Congress and every person elected in Washington has to understand, we want to see a President finally lay out plans for reining in the excesses of government," he said. That leaves some wiggle room for Romney when the inevitable debt-ceiling compromise is reached, but his potential support for that compromise is not likely to please the Teases. These and other inconsistencies will be exploited by the President—who will be forced to run a campaign very much the opposite of 2008's, a counterpunching, negative attack on Republican extremism, which fits his character about as comfortably as pitchfork populism fits Romney's. Some presidential campaigns—1960, 1980, 1992, 2008—are exhilarating, suffused with hope and excitement. This is not likely to be one of those. It is likely to be an election that no one wins but some one loses. It will be a reversal of politics past: a pragmatic Democrat will be facing a Republican with all sorts of big ideas, promising an unregulated, laissez-faire American paradise.

Obama will have to come up with a stronger argument than "It could have been worse," but in tough times, the continuing presence of a government safety net is far more reassuring than the message that you're on your own. And in the end, all the Republican talk of repealing and defunding may prove too radical for an American public that is conservative in the traditional sense, and wary of sudden lurches to the left or right. ■



# Turkey's Man of The People

Third-term Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan is the most popular politician of his generation. But is he a reformer or a strongman in waiting?

BY RANA FORDOHAR



**Y**OU COULD CALL IT POETIC justice. Back in 1999, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, then an up-and-coming young mayor of Istanbul with populist appeal and Islamist leanings, was sentenced to 10 months in jail for reciting a century-old poem that the country's generals—the enforcers of Turkey's constitutionally mandated secularism—found offensive. “Minarets are our bayonets,” the poem went, “the domes our helmets, the mosques our barracks, and the believers our army.” Erdogan was packed away for inciting religious hatred, but not before shouting that “this song is not yet over.”

And how. On June 12, Erdogan led his Justice and Development Party (the AKP) to its third consecutive victory in Turkish parliamentary elections, improving on his 47% landslide victory in 2007 by bringing in 50% of the vote. The Prime Minister, who has led

the country since 2003 and is widely considered to be the most successful politician of his generation, had lost none of his bluster, proclaiming the results a victory “for Bosnia as much as Istanbul, Beirut as much as Izmir, Damascus as much as Ankara.”

Certainly people in all those places—and far beyond—were watching the election, which will likely have a critical impact on the region and the wider world. Erdogan has arguably been the most transformational leader in Turkey since Mustafa Kemal Ataturk founded the modern Turkish Republic in 1923. A 57-year-old former soccer player and native of Istanbul's tough Kasimpasa district, Erdogan, a pious Muslim with a headscarf-wearing wife, appeals to the devout among Turkey's Anatolian masses, who, like religious Americans from the heartland, often feel condescended to by the coastal, secular elite. But he's also popular among the urban working class,

**Jubilant in Istanbul**  
*Supporters of the Justice and Development Party celebrate its third consecutive victory in parliamentary elections*



which is dealing with issues of cultural dislocation, and millions of small- and midsize-business owners who like what he's done for the economy over the past decade, Erdogan may be a populist figure who knows how to chest-thump his way to points with a nationalist electorate, but he's also a savvy economic manager and, to some, a reformer who would like Turkey to play a much bigger economic and political role on the global stage.

The first of those qualities cemented Erdogan's victory this time around. "It's the economy, stupid" could have been the slogan for this election. "Most people vote with their pocketbooks," says Henri Barkey, a visiting scholar and expert on Turkey at the Carnegie Endowment. "This government is reaping the benefits of reforms started back in the 1980s." That's when Turkey, like so many developing nations, began to open up to the world and liberalize its markets. But it wasn't until 2001 when Turkey began to enforce International Monetary Fund fiscal targets that things really improved. Since then, the AKP has steered the ship exceptionally well. During its tenure, per capita income in the country has tripled, exports have quadrupled, and inflation has dropped from as high as 37% to between 5% and 8%. Turkey has the 17th largest economy in the world, and Goldman Sachs predicts it will break into the top 10 by 2050, assuming things stay on track.

So far they have. While Old Europe is facing a debt meltdown and many of the East European tigers were blown up in the financial crisis, Turkey, with a population of 78.8 million, is one of a handful of countries that managed to rebound quickly from the global downturn. Turkey's economy grew 8.9% last year, the fastest rate of any large country aside from China and India. "It's kind of unbelievable how well they've managed the economy," says Afshin Molavi, a senior fellow at the New America Foundation who specializes in Middle Eastern economies. "Turkey has become a darling among foreign investors."



Many of those investors are regional neighbors: there's a lot of Gulf money in Turkey, and many Turkish multinationals operate in the Arab world. Iran and Iraq are among Turkey's largest trading partners. But these economic alliances are only part of a larger role that Erdogan would like to see his country play in regional and world affairs. Turkey is a huge energy corridor, with oil and gas pipelines running across it. Like China, it's a major builder of infrastructure projects at home and abroad. It has the second largest army in NATO after that of the U.S. And it hopes to become a member of the European Union, though European Islamophobia has in recent years soured those ambitions. Perhaps most important, it's a working example of Muslim democracy.

All this fuels Erdogan's aspirations to be a regional leader. While there's no real "Ankara consensus," Turkey has in the past few years pursued a policy of "zero problems toward neighbors," a phrase coined by

charismatic Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. The AKP has tried to warm relations with the Balkans, the Caucasus, Iran, Syria and other neighbors. But results have been mixed. Attempts to broker a deal between the U.N. and Iran to avoid further sanctions over Iran's alleged nuclear weapons program fell apart. The once friendly relationship with Israel turned icy after the killing of aid workers aboard a Turkish flotilla headed for Gaza last year.

Perhaps most pertinent, Erdogan, who likes to paint himself as a man of the people, has been far from sure-footed in his handling of the revolutions in the Middle East. Many Anatolian companies have carved substantial business opportunities in the autocracies surrounding Turkey, which makes them defenders of the status quo. That's made it tricky for Erdogan to get in sync with rapidly changing public opinion in the region. Two years ago, for example, when Iranians took to the streets to protest election results,



**Populist reformer** Erdogan, Turkey's transformational Prime Minister, wants to emerge as a leader of the region

Erdogan sent his congratulations to President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. When fighting began this spring in Libya, Turkey initially backed longtime strongman Muammar Gaddafi; only in May did popular anger over civilian deaths in Libya force Erdogan, during the run-up to the election, to call for Gaddafi's departure. And Turkey has only just started to protest the vicious crackdown on demonstrators in neighboring Syria, in part because Syrian refugees have begun pouring over the border. "It's good that Erdogan has moved away from his initial position on Libya and Syria," says Steven Cook, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. "But the whole thing has compromised Turkey's claims to have some special insight into the people of the region."

#### **A Liberal Democracy—or Not?**

IN TRUTH, THE ARAB SPRING HAS FORCED Turkey to confront the question of exactly what kind of emerging power it

wants to be. It could end up like China, nationalist and self-interested, using its economic muscle to advance its political ambitions. Or it could be ready to take on the challenges of multilateral diplomacy and regional leadership. "I don't think that Erdogan wants Turkey to be seen in the same light as China, as a country that will do anything to preserve its economic self-interest," says the New America Foundation's Molavi. "But the big question that Turkey has to ask itself is this: Are we a liberal democracy or not?"

The answer will have ramifications both at home and abroad. For years, the AKP has been trying to rewrite Turkey's constitution to limit the power of the military, which since Ataturk's day has been the enforcer of the secular order, occasionally by force. The party would like to loosen rules regarding things like the wearing of headscarves, which are banned in state-owned spaces such as universities, courtrooms and political institutions. Erdogan

would also like to shift the country from its parliamentary system to a presidential one, which would allow him to further consolidate power. But while the AKP did well in the parliamentary elections, it didn't win enough seats to rewrite the constitution without consultation. The election "gives Erdogan the message that he needs to work together with opposition parties to do this, rather than trying to do it on his own based on his own principles, which wouldn't be healthy," says Sahin Alpay, a political professor at Bahcesehir University in Istanbul.

The constitution has been repeatedly tweaked, most recently last year, but there's widespread agreement that it needs updating. The document does more to protect the state than the nation's citizens and is reflective of the insecure Turkey of a previous era that desperately wanted to move into the modern (read: Western) world. The headscarf ban that is supposed to be a reflection of the secular state, for example, is now considered by many a violation of civil liberties. Updating the constitution would allow more freedom of speech and protect the rights of minorities like the Kurds, 14 million strong, who live in the southeastern part of the country. The current constitution allows the government to prevent Kurds from speaking their language and gathering for cultural events.

In the past, Erdogan has been a defender of the Kurds, giving them more freedom and autonomy. He's promised more still, including amnesty for the guerrilla fighters of the PKK, a Kurdish separatist group whose leaders are based in the mountains of northern Iraq. But Erdogan hasn't yet delivered, leading to a mounting sense of unrest in the Kurdish southeast. Meanwhile, there are growing concerns about the AKP's suppression of civil rights within Turkey. Under Erdogan, the police have become increasingly powerful and are allegedly dominated by a tightly knit religious brotherhood.

Two internationally acclaimed Turkish journalists investigating the police were detained and jailed in March and have yet to be tried. Journalists now assume that their phones are tapped; public leaks of private conversations have become commonplace. Many believe the AKP was behind the recent release of a spate of sex tapes showing senior members of an opposition party in bed with women who were not their wives.

Erdogan's critics are also concerned about runaway economic growth and its impact on the environment. Just as in China, breakneck development in Turkey has had serious consequences. Yet when thousands of villagers along the Black Sea and the Aegean coast gathered to protest pollution from power plants, Erdogan called them "bandits." He has been similarly dismissive of opposition to the plans to build the country's first nuclear power plant in an earthquake zone, though polls show a majority of Turks to be against the project.

All this raises questions about exactly what Turks can expect from the AKP in its third term. Erdogan's party may have scored an enormous victory, but challenges are brewing on many fronts. The economy, while still robust, needs rebalancing. Exports are beginning to slow, and the country's current account deficit is growing. There's a lot of hot money in the country, which could leave at any moment. Policymakers badly need to loosen the labor market and institute tax reforms. And Turkey's ambition to shape the future of the region remains a hostage to the many conservative Turkish entrepreneurs doing business with the Middle East's old regimes.

Yet for all the concerns about Erdogan and the challenges facing his new government, both the U.S. and Western Europe have a stake in seeing Turkey succeed and become the sort of open, economically dynamic, politically confident nation that can act as a model in the Islamic world. The test will come over rewriting the constitution. If Erdogan uses the negotiations primarily to try to push forward a religious agenda and consolidate his power base, he could end up alienating both Kurds and secular liberals and make it impossible for Turkey to serve as a model of liberal Islamic democracy. But if he makes civil rights and individual liberty the focus, he may be remembered as the man who brought Turkey into its next stage of development on its own terms. Either way, the eyes of the world will be on him. —WITH REPORTING BY PELIN TURGUT/ISTANBUL ■

# Cracks In the Armor

A rare glimpse into Syria suggests widening dissent against the brutal regime

BY RANIA ABOUZEID/NEAR KHIRBET AL-JOUZ



**T**HE SYRIAN COLONEL SITS cross-legged on a patch of moist soil. He's wearing a borrowed plaid shirt and pale green trousers and is surrounded by dozens of men who fled the besieged northern city of Jisr al-Shoughour to an orchard a few hundred meters from the Turkish border. He says his name is Hussein Harmoush and shows me a laminated military-ID card indicating his name and title. Everyone around calls him *muqaddim*—Arabic for his rank. A colonel with the 11th Armored Division of the army's 3rd Corps, the 22-year military veteran says he burned his uniform in disgust more than a week ago, starting with the epaulets. He had to defect, Harmoush says, to take "responsibility for protecting civilians in Jisr al-Shoughour." His only regret: "I was late in taking this decision. I feel like I am responsible for the deaths of every single martyr in Syria."

The defection of soldiers like Har-

moush represents one of the first visible cracks in the regime of President Bashar Assad since he ordered a brutal crackdown on mostly peaceful pro-democracy protests three months ago. In the most dramatic mutiny yet reported, scores of soldiers were said to have defected in Jisr al-Shoughour on June 5 and used their weapons to defend unarmed protesters. Some 120 security personnel were killed in fighting between defectors and loyalists, according to residents and rights activists. The regime denies the mutiny and says the deaths were at the hands of "armed gangs" wearing stolen military uniforms.

Reports from Syria are hard to verify, in part because foreign journalists are barred. But I managed to get across the Turkish border along steep mountainous terrain to reach thousands of refugees, most from Jisr al-Shoughour, who were huddled in open fields and orchards on the outskirts of the Syrian town of Khirbet al-Jouz. Colonel Harmoush was among them. His







conversation with me confirms growing suspicions that the military is not, as the regime claims, foursquare behind Assad.

It's impossible to know how many soldiers feel as Harmoush does, but even small mutinies are significant for a regime that has long relied upon the absolute loyalty of its military to stamp out any political dissent. That's what was expected of the 11th Armored: the division was ordered to leave its base in Homs, some 100 miles (160 km) from Damascus, and "sweep" several northern towns. "We were told that we were doing this to capture armed gangs, but I didn't see any," the colonel says. "I saw soldiers indiscriminately shooting people like they were hunting, burning their fields, cutting down their olive trees."

The refugees crouch in the mud and listen respectfully as Harmoush recounts these horrors. He had been growing disillusioned with the military and the Assad regime for years. A Sunni Muslim, Harmoush says officers from Assad's Alawite

sect were given preference when it came to promotions and that some 85% of places in the officers' cadet corps were reserved for the President's co-religionists.

Further proof that the regime was corrupt came from the government's spin on events in the southern city of Dara'a, where anti-Assad protests first erupted in mid-March. "I know Dara'a. I lived in Dara'a. There are no Salafists or terrorists there. The people of Dara'a were slaughtered," Harmoush says. He began watching dissident videos, taking care to make sure none of his soldiers saw him. He turned to Arabic satellite-news channels for another perspective than that of the sycophantic Syrian press.

The final straw came on June 3, in the village of al Serminiyye, when Assad's tanks began shelling civilians. "I told [my men], 'I took an oath to protect my people and my country, [and] whoever wants to do the same ... follow me. Thirty did immediately.' The soldiers went to Jisr al-

**Fleeing a nightmare** Syrians sleep at a makeshift camp near the Turkish border

Shoughour, where they were joined by others. Soon Harmoush had 120 men, but they were utterly outgunned. "We had light weapons, rifles. The [army] had tanks," he says. "We set up traps, an ambush. That bought us some time to evacuate civilians."

After that, Harmoush and his men began helping townspeople trek across the hills toward the safety of the Turkish border 25 miles (40 km) away. Now he waits with them, unsure of what will come next. He is haunted by the atrocities he saw fellow soldiers commit. When I ask him if any incident stood out, tears quickly well up in his eyes. One man puts his arm around the colonel; others begin to silently sob. Harmoush doesn't answer the question. Instead, his voice cracking, he makes a plea: "I call on people of conscience, on people with humanity: please help the Syrian people." ■

the accused  
mother in court  
during jury  
selection



# Few doubt that Casey Anthony was involved in her child's death. But fascination with her case has made it the first major murder trial of the social-media age

By John Cloud/Orlando

**L**IKE MANY OTHER POPULAR ATTRACTIONS in Orlando, the Casey Anthony trial requires tickets. Hundreds of people show up each day to watch the murder case unfold. But only those who arrive well before 8 a.m. and wait in June swelter can get a pass allowing them into the soaring, chilly top-floor courtroom where Anthony is trying to avoid the death penalty.

Anthony is accused of murdering her 2-year-old, Caylee, in 2008. In December of that year, investigators found parts of the girl's duct-taped corpse near Anthony's parents' home. Bugs and vegetation had colonized the remains, which had been dumped roughly six months earlier. The

sheer horror at the act—and the idea that a mother committed it—catapulted the case from local live-at-5 sideshow to tabloid sensation (MONSTER MOM PARTYING FOUR DAYS AFTER TOT DIED, one recent report said) to national preoccupation. The case is being followed by millions on live-stream video feeds and constant cable-news reports. In the past few days, the *Washington Post* and the *Miami Herald* have become the latest major outlets to begin offering live streams of the case. CNN and NBC air so much coverage of the trial that the networks each decided to erect a two-story, air-conditioned structure in a lot across from the courthouse. The broadcast village around the court

## The Medea Complex. Most mothers nurture. These women killed



▲ **1860-72**  
**Mary Ann Cotton**

One of the earliest known female serial killers in England, Cotton poisoned her children and later collected insurance money from their deaths.



▲ **1972-85**  
**Marybeth Tinning**

The upstate New York housewife was convicted of killing eight of her nine children during the 1970s and '80s. The ninth child died of natural causes.



▲ **1983**  
**Diane Downs**

Erratic behavior and the testimony of her own daughter were the undoing of this Oregon mom who shot her three kids, one fatally.



▲ **1994**  
**Susan Smith**

Though she claimed that her two young sons were kidnapped, Smith ultimately confessed to driving them into a lake, where they drowned.

often grows to hundreds of media vehicles.

And yet they are relative latecomers to what is the first major murder trial of the social-media age. The first public mention of the case appeared on MySpace on July 3, 2008, when Cindy Anthony, Casey's mother, posted a distraught message saying her daughter had stolen "lots of money" and wasn't allowing her to see her granddaughter. (A few days later, Cindy called 911 to report a "possible missing child.")

Today, the latest and most reliable news of the trial comes from a Twitter account, NinthCircuitFL. That's the feed managed by the 9th Judicial Circuit Court, which has some 400 reporter-blogger followers. (As the first court in the U.S. to use DNA evidence, in a 1987 rape case, it's accustomed to being on the cutting edge.) The various Facebook pages honoring Caylee have amassed tens of thousands of friends, and Twitter accounts like CaseyJunky and OSCaseyAnthony (managed by the Orlando *Sentinel*) are adding followers at a rate of hundreds per day.

And yet virtually no one doubts that Anthony was involved in her child's death. In fact, her lawyer admits that Anthony knew how her daughter's body would be disposed of. Few legal experts watching the proceedings expect her to get off. So why has this case become the O.J. Simpson trial of the new decade?

In July 2008, she said that because she worked at Universal Studios (a lie) she employed a nanny to care for Caylee (another lie). That nanny, she said—a woman named Zenaida Fernandez-Gonzalez—had stolen her child. This was a fantastic lie, as no such person existed.

The case might have run its tabloid course relatively under the radar if the fraudulent story line hadn't changed. But last month, when the murder trial against Anthony began, she and her attorney Jose Baez radically altered the script. They said Anthony had lied for so long in order to cover up a family tragedy: Caylee had ac-

cidentally drowned in her grandparents' pool. Baez said Casey didn't reveal the truth because she was scared of her father George Anthony—who, Baez alleged, had begun molesting Casey when she was 8.

George Anthony, 59, a tanned, white-haired former cop who shows up with his wife most days at the trial, has denied the accusation. "When I heard that today," he said in court, "it hurt really bad." The prosecution has chipped away at the drowning theory by showing that Casey didn't seem upset in the days following the supposed accident. A local tattoo artist, Bobby Williams, testified that on July 2, 2008, about two weeks after Caylee was last seen alive, Anthony entered the shop where he works and requested new ink. She was specific about what she wanted: the phrase "Bella Vita" (Italian for "beautiful life"). As he tattooed Casey, Williams said, she happily chatted on the phone.

Details like that one have enraged the court of social-media opinion. The day after Williams testified, Facebook user Jennifer Heavey posted a typical message on a Caylee Anthony page called Sweet Angel: "think im gonna puke in my mouth over them trying to get an acquittal shes GAULITY GAULITY GAULITY [sic!!!] Justice for Caylee."

Hundreds of more sober posts on various pages weigh whether Cindy Anthony is a victim of her daughter's duplicity or a grandmother who didn't do enough. Cindy has wept on the stand several times at the trial; each time, posts on various Anthony feeds and pages spike to hundreds

## The Casey Anthony trial shows Facebook and Twitter can be arenas for mass, lip-licking bloodlust

CASEY ANTHONY IS A TENACIOUS LIAR. HER defense team isn't disputing most of her deceptions, which began not long after Caylee went missing three years ago. When sheriff's deputies first questioned An-



▲ 2000  
**Katherine Knight**

The divorced Aussie murdered her lover by stabbing him 17 times and then attempted to feed his remains to his son and daughter



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▲ 2001  
**Andrea Yates**

The Texas mom drowned her five children in a bathtub and then laid them side by side in bed. In early June she began serving her life sentence



03.21.02 001



▲ 2005  
**China Arnold**

The 11-year-old Ohio mom was convicted in May of murdering her 18-day-old daughter by cooking her in a microwave oven



▲ 2011  
**Julie Schenecker**

A mother of two teenage children, Schenecker shot both of them in January, explaining that they had been "mouthy and disrespectful"

per minute. After testifying on June 14, Cindy mouthed the words "I love you" to her daughter. When Casey looked away without responding, the digital fury was palpable. If it's true that Facebook and Twitter provide forums for a rich abundance of perspectives, the Casey Anthony trial shows they can also be arenas for mass, lip-licking bloodlust.

From a legal perspective, the case against Anthony is astonishingly weak. Before it rested its case June 15, the state could present only a ragbag of circumstantial bits of evidence against her. Her fingerprints weren't found on the body or on the duct tape over Caylee's mouth and nose. No eyewitnesses ever saw Casey hurt Caylee, and the defense is sure to call witnesses who will testify that mother and daughter were close.

The prosecution is relying mostly on evidence found in an Anthony family Pontiac Sunfire that Casey used to drive. Casey abandoned the car about two weeks before Caylee was reported missing. When George Anthony got the car back, he said the trunk carried an overpowering stench of decomposing flesh. He testified that he had smelled dead bodies when he was a cop and that the smell is something "you never forget." A controversial new smell test developed by crime researchers at Oak Ridge National Laboratory showed that the odor almost certainly came from a body, not from a bag of garbage (as Anthony's attorney has said). The prosecution also has a single strand of hair from the trunk, but it cannot say for

certain whether that hair belonged to Caylee or to another Anthony family member. Tests suggesting that the hair came from a decomposing body are not conclusive.

But even if the body was in the car, isn't that consistent with Casey's story, that she and her father panicked and disposed of the body after Caylee drowned in the pool?

And about that tattoo: what if *Bella Vita* is a description not of the good life Casey believed she would have after her troublesome daughter was dead but of the "beautiful life" that had just been taken from her?

Wouldn't Casey abandon her car after she had to use it to hide her daughter's

corpse? Wouldn't she bury her daughter with the girl's Winnie the Pooh blanket, all the better to comfort the little body? Wouldn't she have to keep up appearances after the accident by going out with friends to bars? Wouldn't she text her boyfriend, "I'm the dumbest person and the worst mother. I honestly hate myself?"

Well, maybe. You have to squint really hard to bring the defense case into focus. It could ultimately crumble because of the overreaching, virtually unprovable accusation that George molested Casey. In court, the prosecution played hours of tapes from 2008 visits by George and Cindy to see Casey in jail. During one visit, Casey told her father, "You've been a great dad and the best grandfather." The defense could argue that she said those words because she was frightened of him and knew that police were taping the visit. But her many deceptions won't incline jurors to give her the benefit of the doubt.

For the public, though, the endless variations of the truth coming from Courtroom 23 are fodder for constant posts and reposts, bitter condemnations and many!! exclamation!! points!!!! The Anthony family tale has so many crosscurrents that operate along such electrified moral axes that it's hard to turn away. If you looked at O.J. Simpson in 1995 and saw a cold-blooded killer trying to get away with it, you could only scream at the television. But if you see murder in Casey Anthony's big brown eyes during a live feed of her trial, you can tell all the world how delectable you will find her execution. ■

**The Anthony family tale operates along such electrified moral axes that it's hard to turn away**



SCIENCE

# The Tiniest Transplant

## The great promise of stem cells is finally being put to the test

BY ALICE PARK

**Pinned down**  
A human embryonic stem cell, magnified, on the point of a pin.



**D**R. STEVEN SCHWARTZ HAD BEEN waiting 14 years to make the phone call. As an eye doctor at the University of California, Los Angeles, Schwartz sees his share of patients with serious diseases that slowly rob them of their sight. Yet when a 12-year-old girl went to him complaining of vision problems, he had the difficult job of diagnosing her with Stargardt's, one of the more common forms of macular degeneration, in which the photoreceptor cells start to deteriorate. He had to tell her that the world she knew would gradually, pixel by pixel, fade into darkness and that there was nothing he could do to treat her impending blindness. He suggested she try visual aids and vitamins to keep any remaining cells functioning, but that was all he could offer. She and her family were interested in participating in research trials, however, so he promised that he would call if any new opportunities arose.

Nearly a decade and a half later, Schwartz kept that promise and phoned the patient he couldn't forget with some exciting news. He was getting ready to test the first embryonic-stem-cell therapy for Stargardt's and dry macular degeneration. Would she, he wondered, be interested in learning more?

Now 26 and legally blind, the young woman, who can't be identified until after her treatment because of informed consent rules, immediately said yes. She is being evaluated as a potential pioneer to receive the first retinal pigment epithelium (RPE) cells generated from embryonic stem cells. If accepted, she will join a handful of other patients with macular degeneration who will have thousands of cells injected into their eyes to replace their destroyed RPE cells in the retina and, hopefully, rescue any remaining photoreceptor cells. They will help scientists answer a critical question: After all the controversy over embryonic stem cells, are therapies derived from them safe and ultimately effective?

Two patients with spinal-cord injuries have already received injections of another embryonic-stem-cell-based treatment—millions of specific cells that help neurons communicate with one another—in an effort to repair the shredded network of nerves that crisscross the spinal cord and extend out to the arms, legs, fingers and toes. While still a select group, together these patients represent the first wave of what doctors hope will be a new era in cell-based medicine. Instead of treating disease symptoms with drugs or surgery—regular insulin injections for diabetics, for instance, or medications to help break up the plaques that strangle nerve cells in the

brains of Alzheimer's patients—they're hoping to replace damaged and no-longer-functioning cells with new, healthier versions that could eventually lead to a cure for countless chronic diseases, from macular degeneration to diabetes, heart disease and spinal cord injury. And the key to generating these new cells will be stem cells.

"We are finally ready to break ground on this field with the first trials," says Dr. Robert Lanza, chief scientific officer at Advanced Cell Technology, the company that makes the RPE cells. "It's taken a decade of extensive research to get to this point."

In those 10 years, stem cell scientists have had to address some tough questions about how realistic it would be to extract stem cells from a human embryo, coax those cells to develop into nerve and eye cells and then transplant them into patients. The burden on these vanguard trials is huge, and the questions they inspire are legion—and disturbing. Will the transplanted cells "take," escaping destruction by their new hosts' immune systems? The cells are, after all, made from embryos that were completely unrelated to the recipients. Will the fact that the cells were developed from embryonic stem cells lead them to form tumors? Embryonic stem cells are known for their ability to grow indefinitely. Left alone, such cells tend to form grotesque balls of different tissue types—bone, skin, tooth, hair, muscle—known as teratomas. And if the transplanted cells do survive and don't form tumors or teratomas, will they function properly? Will that function be enough to restore some feeling, in the case of the spinal-cord-injury patients, or some vision in the eye patients?

Stem-cell scientists certainly aren't expecting to answer all these questions with this first round of trials. In fact, the initial patients are part of important safety tests to determine if stem-cell-based tissues are safe and robust enough to live and grow in human patients. As in any situation involving a completely novel treatment with no precedent in medical history, the scientists are hoping for the best but bracing for the worst.

**In a completely novel treatment with no precedent in medical history, researchers are hoping for the best and bracing for the worst**

They have good reason to be cautious. Just eight months after it won approval from the Food and Drug Administration, the spinal-cord trial, led by Geron, was suspended for nearly a year after ongoing animal studies found that the transplanted nerve cells started to form odd clusters in the spines of the animals. Scientists eventually determined that the so-called rosettes weren't tumors and allowed the trial to continue, but the experience highlights the vigor and unpredictability of the cells. Learning from that incident, Lanza decided to take no chances and developed a test that would detect a single stray stem cell, with the potential of developing into a teratoma, that might have escaped into a preparation of over a million RPE cells. "Our cells are 99% to 100% pure," he says.

The retinal cells may have an advantage when it comes to immune rejection. The space beneath the retina where the cells are injected is generally free of the body's patrolling immune sentries. But in the patients in the trial, the RPE cells have been so damaged by disease that it's not clear whether they continue to maintain their immune-protected cocoon. So just to be safe, the volunteers will be taking drugs to suppress their immune system, in much the same way that patients receiving organ transplants from unrelated donors do.

Looking ahead, such immune protection may not be necessary. Researchers can now make embryo-like stem cells from a patient's own skin cells, which means that the concern about immune mismatch between donor and recipient cells may become moot. There's another benefit to these embryo-free stem cells, known as induced pluripotent stem cells, or iPS cells. Because they can be made from patients suffering from diseases like diabetes or Lou Gehrig's, scientists can watch how these cells develop and better understand how a motor neuron in a patient with such a disease starts to go awry.

So while a lot hangs on these first trials of embryonic-stem-cell therapies, they are, says Schwartz, only the beginning. Realistically, he doesn't anticipate that early participants will regain their vision completely, nor do the spinal-cord experts expect their patients to walk again after getting the treatments. But if the therapies are safe, then scientists can start figuring out when to intervene with the cells to do the most good. "We can start thinking about striking at diseases like macular degeneration before central vision is completely gone," says Schwartz. And that would indeed be something worth seeing. ■

*Adapted from The Stem Cell Hope (Hudson Street Press, 2011) by Alice Park*



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BUSINESS CHINA

# The End of Cheap Labor in China

Rising wages are sending its manufacturing jobs to Cambodia, Vietnam, India—and the U.S.

BY BILL POWELL

Photographs by Stefen Chow for TIME

**Pricier** A worker at Guangzhou Fortumique, where wages are up 50%



**Upwardly mobile** As employees earn more, the pressure on Fortinque to relocate increases

**O**N MAY 25, U.S. BUSINESSMAN Charles Hubbs made the short trek to Hong Kong from his office just outside Guangzhou, a city in Guangdong province in southeastern China that is known for good reason as the manufacturing workshop of the world. For the 64-year-old native of Louisiana, it was a trip that may have marked the beginning of the end of his successful 22-year run as a China-based exporter of medical supplies.

Hubbs was going to listen to a pitch from the American ambassador in Cambodia, Carol Rodley, and the president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Phnom Penh. Their aim was simple: to get foreign investors, particularly those already with operations in China, to consider setting up shop in Cambodia. Hubbs was all ears. To hear him tell it, the price of labor is on the brink of making his firm, Guangzhou Fortinque, which supplies some of the U.S.'s biggest health care companies, uncompetitive. "We've seen our wage costs in China go up nearly 50% in the last two years alone," he says. "It's harder to keep workers on now, and it's more expensive to attract new ones. It's gotten to the point where I'm actively looking for alternatives. I think I'll be out of here entirely in a couple of years."

He is not alone. In what is supposed to be a land of unlimited cheap labor—a nation of 1.3 billion people, whose extraordinary 20-year economic rise has been built first and foremost on the backs of low-priced workers—the game has changed. In the past decade, according to Helen Qiao, chief economist for Goldman Sachs in Hong Kong, real wages for manufacturing workers in China have grown nearly 12% per year. That's the result of an economy

that's been growing by double digits annually for two decades, fueled domestically by a frenzied infrastructure and housing build-out—one that, for now anyway, continues apace—combined with what was for a time an almost unquenchable thirst for Chinese exports in the developed world. Add to that the fact that in the five largest manufacturing provinces, the Chinese government—worried about an ever-widening gap between rich and poor—has raised the minimum wage 14% to 21% in the past year. To Harley Seyedin, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Southern China, the conclusion is inescapable: "The era of cheap labor in China is over."

Mind you, that doesn't mean that labor costs in China, even in the most expensive parts of the country like Guangdong province, are higher than in most other places, particularly in the developed world. They aren't. The average manufacturing wage in China is still only about \$3.10 an hour, (compared with \$22.30 in the U.S.), though in the eastern part of the country, it's up to 50% more than that. The hourly cost advantage, while still significant, is shrinking rapidly. For the vast majority of companies, whether small, medium-size or huge multinationals, the decision about where to produce a product is always driven by multiple factors, of which the cost of labor is but one. "For lots of companies over the past two decades, the disparity was such that labor costs often drove the decision," says economist Daniel Rosen, the China director and principal of the Rhodium Group, a New York-based consulting firm. "Now, increasingly, that's no longer the case."

The ripple effects of this new reality are enormous, and they flow globally. Start with China itself. The push for higher

wages, constrained for so many years, resulted in a series of high-profile labor protests last year, which included 14 worker suicides at Foxconn, the large manufacturer that produces goods like the iPad. But higher wages have also improved things in China's western region, where the government has long tried to encourage investment. In the past year, many multinational and Chinese companies have expanded or relocated inland, where labor is still cheap.

From China's perspective, that's exactly the sort of trade-off it seeks. As Andy Rothman, chief China macro strategist at CLSA Securities in Shanghai, says, "People in Sichuan or Henan or wherever can stay closer to home and find a good-paying job" instead of having to flood east each year to

**Made in China**  
The cost of labor is rising as the Chinese economy grows

**12%**

Average annual increase in Chinese manufacturing wages from 2000 to 2009

**69%**

China's average wage rate compared with that of the U.S. by 2015

SOURCES: GOLDMAN SACHS; BOSTON CONSULTING GROUP



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**Getting a break** Lunch at Fortunique. Millions of workers join China's middle class each year

live in a company dormitory far away from their families. "How is this a bad thing?"

It's not. Ask Wu Ding-li, a 24-year-old from Ziyang, a city in Sichuan, who for five years had been working in a small electronics factory in Dongguan, the huge, dreary factory town between Guangzhou and Shenzhen in the southeast. She was laid off in late 2008, when the global financial crisis temporarily crippled Chinese exports to the West. A year later, she found a job on the production line of a company that supplies electric cables to, among other customers, a Hewlett-Packard personal-computer plant in Chongqing. She says she's making "only a bit less" than she did before, "but life is much easier for me here because I'm closer to home. I much prefer this job to the old one."

The changing economics of Made in China will benefit both the rich and poor world. Countries like Cambodia, Laos, India and Vietnam are picking up some of the cheapest labor manufacturing left by the Chinese. And according to a recent study by the Boston Consulting Group (BCG), there is already evidence of at least the beginning of a shift in manufacturing operations returning to the U.S. Last year, Wham-O, the company that makes inexpensive, albeit iconic, toys, announced it

was moving 50% of its Frisbee and Hula Hoop production back to the U.S. from China and Mexico, a move that created hundreds of new American jobs.

Toymaking, of course, along with footwear and textiles, was among the first industries to head to China as the cheapest source of reliable production. It's a labor-intensive, relatively low-tech industry—one that most economists assumed would be gone forever once it left. But a look at how the economics have changed over the past decade sheds some light on why companies like Wham-O are deciding to return. According to the BCG study, in 2000, China's average wage rate was 36% of the U.S.'s, adjusted for productivity. By the end of 2010, that gap had shrunk to 48%, and BCG estimates that it will be 69% in 2015. "So while the discussion in the short term favors China," says Hal Sirkin, senior partner at BCG and the author of the recent study, "the spread is getting down to a smaller and smaller number. Increasingly what you're seeing [in corporate boardrooms] is a discussion not necessarily about closing production in China but about 'Where I will locate my next plant?'"

Perhaps the most important effect of rising wages in China is that they will put more money in people's pockets,

which is something that's in the interest of everyone—most emphatically Beijing's major trading partners, who urgently need China to increase its consumption in order to reduce drastic imbalances in global trade. As such as higher wages may cut into the bottom line of exporters like Charles Hubbs and thousands of Chinese-owned companies across a wide range of industries, the process is the inevitable result of China's becoming a wealthier country with a stronger currency. "It's exactly what needs to happen," says Rosen.

Many multinationals, meanwhile, have long since begun to focus their China manufacturing operations on the vast Chinese market. That HP factory in Chongqing produces its laptops only for the home market. In a survey eight years ago, the American Chamber of Commerce in Southern China found that 75% of its members were focused mainly on export markets. By last year, that number had flipped: 75% of 1,800 respondents now say their manufacturing operations in China are focused on serving the Chinese market. That's mainly because China's workers are steadily getting richer. For them, and pretty much everyone else concerned, that's the rarest of commodities in a troubled global economy: good news. ■

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# Not Too Posh to Click

Net-a-Porter proved that high-priced fashion can sell online—even during a recession. Other luxury-goods retailers are joining the show

BY THOMAS K. GROSE

**F**OR NET-A-PORTER, A LONDON-BASED e-tailer of luxury-brand women's wear, the Great Recession wasn't even a speed bump. "We actually outperformed our own business plan. Sales were exceptional," says Natalie Massenet, the company's American founder and executive chairman. Its sales soared 53% in 2008. That recession-be-damned kind of growth prompted Swiss luxury-goods conglomerate Richemont, which already owned a third of the company, to buy the rest in a deal last April that valued it at \$568 million at the time. In February, Net-a-Porter stretched its model to menswear, launching Mr Porter, a separate site for guys.

Richemont reported that Net-a-Porter's sales increased 108%, to about \$400 million, in the fiscal year ending in March. It's been profitable since 2003, three years after its launch amid the dotcom crash. Moreover, the number of visitors rose 32% last year, reaching 3 million a month, while the site added 11,000 paying customers a month. Key to its success is the premium it places on service—it offers, for example, same-day deliveries in London and Manhattan. Superior service always appeals to well-heeled shoppers. "But during a recession, it matters more than ever," Massenet says.

Net-a-Porter's nonstop growth has helped spark a big push for online sales by the world's luxury brands—a move many of them long resisted. The presumption was that buyers of pricey goods demanded person-to-person selling. "Net-a-Porter made them sit up and take notice," says Guy Salter, deputy chairman of Walpole, a trade group for posh British goods and services. Sales of luxury goods fell sharply during the downturn, but brands that were selling on the Web saw digital sales hold up—perhaps in part because customers could buy luxury goods sheltered from public view.

Given that performance, nearly all luxury companies, including Burberry and Hermès, have recently gone digital or boosted their webtailing efforts. Then there's Fabergé. It was relaunched in Sep-

tember 2009, mainly as an online site.

The rush to the Web coincides with a postdownturn rebound for luxury-goods sales. Banking group HSBC estimates that the appetite for high-end products will grow 11% this year. But that's mainly thanks to increasing demand in Asia, not Web sales. Online sales, though growing, remain a relatively small piece of the pie for most brands. But Milton Pedraza, CEO of New York City's Luxury Institute, predicts that digital sales will account for 15% to 20% of revenue for most brands within a few years. And buyers are also showing a willingness to make big purchases online. Tiffany & Co., for instance, has sold diamond pieces worth \$250,000 on its site.

Why did so many luxury-goods companies spend years eschewing the Web? "They thought it would cheapen the product because they couldn't replicate the in-store experience online," Pedraza explains. But for wealthy customers, clickable convenience combined with great service is an enticing mix. "Luxury brands now understand that their customers want what they want, when they want it," he says. Adds Massenet: "It's a false assumption that people with a lot of money have a lot of free time to shop."

Luxury brands also associated e-commerce with discounting, which they loathe. But Net-a-Porter sells only full-priced merchandise, proving that needn't be the case (though it also operates the Outnet, a separate outlet site). Just because discounters and top brands share Internet space "doesn't mean they're homogeneous," Massenet says, pointing out that Neiman Marcus happily coexists with the likes of Target and JCPenney.

That an increasing number of luxury brands are heading online doesn't mean greater competition, she insists. While Net-a-Porter sells goods from about 350 designers, it offers only a limited selection from each. The more that top brands embrace e-commerce, she says, the more it builds demand. "It's a case of driving more customers online."

To be sure, some of swankdom's most famous names remain on the sidelines. You can't, for instance, buy Chanel clothes or accessories online, and the same goes for Rolex and Vacheron Constantin watches and Montblanc pens. But Massenet believes the digital divide among luxury brands will soon disappear. "It's inevitable," she says. "They will all be online because their customers are asking for it." And as someone who does most of her shopping on the Web, Massenet says she hopes Chanel will take the plunge soon.







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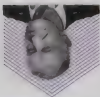
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# The Culture

**50 POP CHART** Angry Birds in the kitchen / **52 TELEVISION**  
Sitcom auteur Louis CK / **56 MUSIC** Beyoncé Inc. / **58**  
**BOOKS** Scandinavian crime scenes / **60 TECH** Facebook Jr.



**The Playboy Club**  
The NBC show got a publicity bump after a Salt Lake City station said it would not air the '60s-set drama.

The *Playboy* founder's 25-year-old fiancée called off their wedding just days before the ceremony.



## Over Easy, With a Side Of Angry

As *Angry Birds* marks its 250 millionth download, Rovio—the Finnish company behind the hugely addictive game in which birds try to rescue their unhatched young from evil pigs—plans to self-publish a cookbook and mobile app. What will they contain? *Egg* recipes, naturally.

'I was in denial... I wanted to pretend I wasn't as famous as I was.'



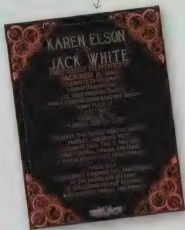
**EMMA WATSON**, to the *Times* of London, on her decision to drop out of Brown University: the *Harry Potter* star enrolled in the Ivy League school in September 2006 and departed in March 2011.

Though she was kicked off the show, Julie Taymor took a bow at the premiere.



## Turn Off the Snark

When ***Spider-Man: Turn Off the Dark*** officially opened on Tuesday, after the longest and most troubled preview period in Broadway history, the show seemed almost an anticlimax. In truth, it was never quite the disaster that early reviews suggested. The chief problem was a murky, overly ambitious script, which embellished a generic superhero saga with all sorts of narrative layering and mythological mumbo-jumbo. In a certain limited sense, the salvage job has been successful. *Spider-Man* is better now, but it's still just a cut above an ordinary Broadway spectacle. —RICHARD ZOGLIN



## Drinks, Dancing and Divorce

Rocker **Jack White** and model-wife **Karen Elson** threw a party on June 10 to celebrate their divorce. Yes, it's kind of bizarre, but so is White. (He and first ex-wife Meg White once claimed they were siblings.) White and Elson had been together since 2005, when they were married by a shaman while sitting in a canoe on the banks of the Amazon River. This is White's second big breakup this year: in February he dissolved the White Stripes.



## Potty Mouth

After weeks of being passed around online in PDF form, *Go the F\*\*k to Sleep*. Adam Mansbach's spoof kids' book about a tired and foulmouthed parent's attempt to put Junior to bed, went on sale. And who better to narrate the audiobook version of that story than *Pulp Fiction*'s Samuel L. Jackson? Seriously, kids, go to sleep, or Jackson will lay his vengeance upon thee.

## A Tasteless Tyrant

Comedian Sacha Baron Cohen, master of uncomfortable humor, might be the only man alive who can make a despot look hilarious. The first official picture from 2012's *The Dictator*, said to be inspired by Saddam Hussein's romance novel *Zabibah and the King*, shows that Cohen has not abandoned his love for over-the-top getups.





**WOODEN WONDER** The world's largest wooden structure now looms over Seville's Plaza de la Encarnación. Sitting on the site of a former parking lot is the Metropol Parasol, a massive honeycomb of a building that contains an archaeological museum, a farmers' market and panoramic rooftop walkways.

## BEAUTY

### Sweet Smell of Success

**Jennifer Lopez** may be on the fence about whether or not to judge a second season of *American Idol*, but her passion for perfume has yet to dry up. Nine years after the debut of *Glow*, Lopez will unveil her 18th fragrance, *Love and Light*, on HSN July 2 before it hits stores in September. Here's a brief look at Lopez's scent trail.

#### YOU GLOW, GIRL: A TIMELINE



## GAMES

### 14 Years For This?

In development for almost a decade and a half, *Duke Nukem Forever* was, it seems, not worth the wait. The video game, announced in 1997 as a sequel to the popular first-person shooter *Duke Nukem 3D* and released June 14, was widely panned, with one reviewer saying it was "not funny and rampantly offensive," much like many a 14-year-old.

## 5 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT

### 1. Oscar filler.

The Academy will no longer hold its Best Picture slots open. Look for anywhere from five to 10 nominees next year.

### 2. The death of *The Killing*.

Despite a late season dip, the AMC show got picked up for a second season.

### 3. Keeping track of confusing comic-book continuity.

DC is restarting 52 of its titles at No. 1.

### 4. Hip-hop's overreliance on Auto-Tune.

LL Cool J's *MTV Unplugged* proved he can live without it.

### 5. Reading more stories about the Spider-Man debacle.

It's open. We can move on now.

## MOVIES

### Best Theater Ever

The Alamo Draft-house in Austin recently turned an angry voicemail—left by a woman who had been kicked out for texting during a



film—into a PSA that has played before several of its featured movies. So how else is the Draft-house the best cinema in America? It doesn't play ads, doesn't admit kids under 6 (or unaccompanied minors) to most showings and will eject without refund patrons who talk or text repeatedly after the lights go out.

# Louis CK's DIY TV

## How a single dad and raunchy auteur makes his hands-on sitcom

By James Poniewozik

INSIDE A CROWDED APARTMENT IN UPPER Manhattan, the executive producer of the FX comedy *Louie* needs to confer with the director, the star, the writer and the editor. Fortunately, they're all the same guy.

Louis CK is choreographing a scene in which his character, Louie—like him, a comedian and divorced single dad—has woken up to cries of agony from his pregnant sister, who is crashing on his couch. In quick order, Louis adds a line making clear these are not labor pains, coaches the actress on when to scream (“Give me a big spike here”), suggests a camera-angle experiment and plans his route so the lens doesn’t catch the crew members crammed into the galley kitchen. They’re not going to rehearse before shooting (“I don’t want to waste the energy”), so he tells the cameraman to follow him and keep up: “I’m never disappointed when you don’t know where you’re supposed to be.”

Planned chaos is not just the aim of this scene. It’s *Louie*’s operating principle. Shot on a low budget, with Louis in charge of everything from scripting to buying equipment, it’s closer to indie filmmaking than the high-polish committee operation of most TV series. *Louie* (Thursdays, 10:30 p.m. E.T.) is something the production system makes nigh impossible: artisanal TV, a small-batch distillation of a single creator’s mordant, achingly funny vision.

Louis CK (the CK is a phonetic rendering of his birth name, Szekely), 43, had in some ways a typical TV-sitcom comic career. A successful stand-up run in the late ’80s and early ’90s led to writing jobs with Conan O’Brien, David Letterman and Chris Rock. But his taste for the dark and bizarre led to some setbacks. In 1996, as head writer for the short-lived *Dana*

*Carvey Show*, he wrote perhaps the most alienating opening sketch in prime-time history, in which President Bill Clinton showed his nurturing side by suckling puppies from his row of teats. In 2001 his deranged blaxploitation spoof *Pootie Tang* flopped at the box office.

Through it all, his stand-up career boomed. As he became a father, then a divorced father, he developed the persona of a salty everyman reacting to the indignity of aging (“I’m 41. My balls are, like, 72”) and the grind of life (dating after divorce is like “having a lot of money in the currency of a country that doesn’t exist anymore”). Comedian and old friend Marc Maron says Louis’s style marries the profane and humane. “It’s almost like he’s this grotesque clown,” Maron says. “But he has this great emotional understanding of the situation he’s in.”

His profile rising, Louis began taking meetings for big-budget network sitcoms. Then cable channel FX made him an offer too small to refuse. Louis would be miserable at a big network, argued FX president John Landgraf: “You’re going to find yourself on a stage pretending to be Tim Allen, and that’s not who you are.” FX would give Louis \$250,000 an episode to spend as he liked. There would be no casting mandates, no network notes on scripts. The quarter-million figure—broadcast sitcoms can cost about \$1.5 million on the low end—was as much as Landgraf could commit without asking FX’s overlords at News Corp.

Louis took the deal. There were personal reasons: he has custody of his daughters half the week and chose to raise them without child-care help, which led him to turn down jobs on the West Coast. “I wanted the kids to feel like they could count on me, like I wasn’t just

**Operation Desert Stress**  
Louis CK on the California set of the Season 2 finale, which takes his character from New York City to Afghanistan





visiting," he says. (He shoots *Louie* late into the night on days when the girls are with his ex-wife and edits the show, on his laptop, when they're in school.)

And the freedom was priceless. The first season of *Louie* was a loose-knit anthology of anxiety comedy, combining small vignettes, meatier stories and clips of stand-up. Some stories were gross-out funny, like a bit in which Louie's doctor (Ricky Gervais) mocks his middle-aged body during an exam. Others were poignant and even dramatic: Louie has a date ruined when he's humiliated by a high school bully; Louie remembers his childhood Catholic-school guilt. (Young Louie freaks out and breaks into church to free a statue of Christ from the cross; in an epilogue, a blasé, cigarette-smoking handyman nails him back up.)

The show blissfully ignores continuity. Last season Louie had a brother; this season he doesn't. The same actress played his date in the bully episode and his mother in the Catholic-school episode, an oedipal accident of casting. (He's careful to stress that his family on the show is not his real family, and the malleability of the characters bears it out.) The main connecting thread—beyond the bedrock divorced-dad premise—is Louis CK's deadpan, put-upon sensibility.

*Louie* stretches its budget through ingenuity and a do-it-yourself ethos. There are no regular cast members, a major budget line for most shows. (Last season, two actresses played Louie's youngest daughter in the same episode after the first booked a TV pilot.) Louis takes no salary beyond the union minimum, treating the show like a calling card for his stand-up work.

Some things that make *Louie* cheaper actually make it look more expensive. A

self-described AV geek, Louis buys rather than rents his camera lenses, which cuts long-term costs and gives the show a bit of a vintage, '70s film look. "We have a red no one else has," he says with pride. In the show's pilot, Louis' longtime co-producer M. Blair Breard found a low-cost helicopter for a scene in which a woman ends a bad date with Louie by boarding a chopper and flying away. ("I try to never say no," Breard says.) For the Season 2 finale, set in Afghanistan and shot in Texas and California, Louis got FX to double the budget—but it still reportedly costs CBS twice as much to get Ashton Kutcher to walk onto a set for one *Two and a Half Men* episode.

It may seem like a writer's dream, but most—even dialogic machines like Aaron Sorkin—don't have the technical skills or visual sense to pull it off. O'Brien recalls a *Late Night* bit by Louis, Bad Fruit Theater, in which rotting pears and oranges enacted scenes from classic dramas. For *Apocalypse Now*, O'Brien recalls, "there was a decaying banana rising out of this ooze," à la Martin Sheen. "It was surreal and haunting and funny. You could tell this guy has a director's eye."

In Season 2, Louie is finding his legs as a single dad, and Louis is stretching as an auteur. Some stories take up full episodes and deal even more overtly with the kids, parenting and its stressors. (A house hunt triggers angst about his success as a father, leading him to try to buy a \$17 million townhouse with \$7,000 in his bank account.) In a way, Louis' commitment to the physical, hands-on work of filmmaking is the perfect analogue to the way *Louie* deals with the physical, hands-on work of single fatherhood. Few sitcoms are so conscious of the sheer labor of parenting—trudging to school, carry-

**Few sitcoms are so conscious of the physical labor of parenting. 'It's like Platoon,' Louis says**

ing backpacks, slicing up mangoes. "It's like *Platoon*," Louis says. "You just have an impossible amount of s--- to carry." When he talks about making a show, it's not much different. "There is fatigue, and it's f---ing hard. But what I know from experience is that if I was getting a million dollars a show, it wouldn't make it easier."

*Louie*'s comedy is scored to the ticking of the middle-aged protagonist's earthly clock. The theme song is a version of the '70s hit "Brother Louie" that changes the chorus' final line from "Louie, Louie, you're gonna cry" to "Louie, Louie, you're gonna die." Mortality even makes it into his jokes about his kids. In one stand-up bit, his daughter asks him if the sun will be in the sky forever. He says it will explode someday—but, not to worry, long after she's dead. Then he realizes what he's told her. "She's going to die. Everybody she knows is going to die. They're going to be dead for a very long time. And then the sun's going to explode. She learned all of that in 12 seconds."

Louis acknowledges that mortality is a theme in his humor, but he doesn't see how that's a big deal. "It's kind of like being on a bus to Pittsburgh and I say, 'I wonder what time we're going to get to Pittsburgh?'" he says. "And everyone's like, 'What? Why are you talking about Pittsburgh?' Well, it says it on the f---ing tickets and on the front of the bus. That's where we're going. Aren't you interested that we're all headed there?"

A more immediate concern, he says, is that ratings pick up. (*Louie* attracted just over a million viewers per episode in Season 1.) If not, well, one advantage of a cheap show is that it can stay on the air despite numbers that would get most series canceled. FX, Louis says, has told him "it's going to be up to me whether I keep doing the show or not. As if I would ever want anything but to do it." Louis CK has more to say. And with luck—as the whole weary lot of us must hope—it's still a long way to Pittsburgh.

## The Road to Louie. Louis CK's ups and downs in TV and film



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# Music

## Destiny's Portfolio. Sizing up the assets of pop's one-woman industry

By Douglas Wolk

THE ARRIVAL OF BEYONCÉ's new album, *4* (out June 28), is a highly anticipated event in the pop world. But in certain respects, it also feels like an IPO. Beyoncé is a human stock portfolio, her blue-chip music work balanced with film roles, endorsements and fashion and fragrance lines. So it's easy to imagine each track on *4* as a strategic investment. "I Was Here"? A partnership with balladeer Diane Warren to augment Beyoncé's holdings in the undercapitalized schmaltz category. "I Miss You," written by Odd Future's Frank Ocean? A venture-capital stake in a promising hip-hop start-up. A sample of Boyz II Men counting from 10 to 1 on "Countdown"? An overture to the toddler demographic that embraced the "Single Ladies" video.

Even her charitable work buzzes with brand synergy. For example, the Beyoncé Cosmology Center offers vocational training in Brooklyn through an addiction-recovery nonprofit; its beauty products are donated by L'Oréal, with which Beyoncé has a multimillion-dollar endorsement deal.

The Beyoncé Fund's stellar past performance is no guarantee of future results. But check out the video of her recent appearance at a Harlem school, dancing with kids for Michelle Obama's Let's Move campaign. It's sweet, thrilling and will no doubt contribute to year-over-year growth in awareness of her music and dance moves. Which are, bottom line, why everyone loves Beyoncé. ■

### The Beyoncé Fund

Has any singer ever been so diversified?

#### PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL WAITING FOR DESTINY'S CHILD TO GET BACK TOGETHER

Analysts anticipate a 2026 reunion tour and associated sponsorships (Number 8)  
Destiny's Child albums sold thus far in 2011: 25,000.

#### TECHNOLOGY

Number of followers in the once-titled @beyonce twitter account: 11.2 million  
Number of tweets: 40  
Beyoncé is a data...

#### FASHION & LIFESTYLE

Heat  
House of Deron

Her fragrance, *Destiny Fierce*, is a multimillion-dollar investment, but she's also expanded the audience for her clothing line to people whose relationship to the "know-nothing" family...

With her fashion designer mother, Tina Turner...



Having discontinued her underperforming *Sasha Fierce* brand, Beyoncé anticipates ongoing growth for female-empowerment anthems and dancehall tracks and pursues high-ROI collaborators including Andre 3000, Lady Gaga and corporate—and life—partner Jay-Z.



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# Books

## Grand Larssony. The next wave of Scandinavian crime writing

By Lev Grossman

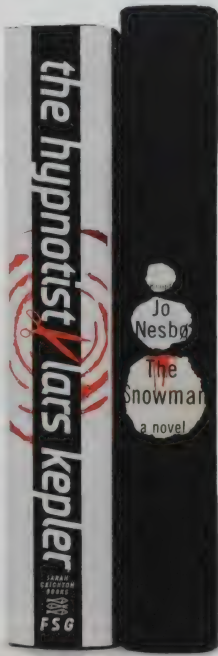
I'VE NEVER BEEN A BIG FAN OF STIEG Larsson's work. I know, I know: that's not a popular opinion. And I do acknowledge that haunted hacker Lisbeth Salander is a compelling character. But a 24-year-old woman with the body of a tween whose idea of a good time is donating anonymous sex to older men? There's a little too much of the fantasy gamine about her. That's not what I want my daughters to grow up thinking a powerful woman is. Plus, if I wanted to learn that much about Swedish tax law, I would consult a Swedish tax attorney.

Whatever you think of his work, some good has come of the Larssonous state of American letters, and that is the introduction of the U.S. audience to some first-rate Scandinavian crime writers. Having run out of Larsson novels, Knopf is now pinning its hopes on a Norwegian thrillerist named Jo Nesbø. *The Snowman* is the seventh novel in Nesbø's series about a brilliant but unconventional detective named, oddly, Harry Hole (one wishes he were at least called Harry Høle), Norway's only expert on serial killers.

Nesbø has hit on a authentic human truth in *The Snowman*, which is that snowmen, like clowns and mimes, are creepy. The thrills don't come from Harry, who, as characters go, is no Lisbeth Salander. (He's a type: grizzled visage, bad attitude, etc.) They come from Nesbø's eerie stage managing of the crimes Harry has to solve. Early in the book, a mysterious snowman appears on a young boy's front lawn. It doesn't face the road, the way most snowmen do; it gazes up at the house. That night, the boy's mother disappears. When he goes out to look for her, he sees that the snowman is now wearing her pink scarf. *Brrrrrrrr.*

Lars Kepler's *The Hypnotist* doesn't build

**HOME-FIELD ADVANTAGE**  
Scandinavian thrillers benefit from deliciously denuded landscapes: they're sets dressed for murder.



up to horror; it leads off with it: a coldly precise description of two children and their parents butchered so thoroughly that at first the police don't realize that one of them, the 15-year-old son, is still alive. The police want the traumatized boy hypnotized so he can name his attacker, but the hypnotist, Erik Maria Bark, is himself traumatized: something bad happened to him 10 years ago, and he swore a mighty oath never to hypnotize again.

But he does, as we knew he would, and he lives to regret it, as we knew he would. The wounded boy turns out to be a kind of Pandora's box who, once Erik opens him up, unleashes an unending stream of horrors on the world. He's no innocent victim is all I'll say here. Kepler (it's actually the pseudonym of a Swedish couple) doesn't proceed crudely by alternating scary shocks with expository boredom, the way less skillful thriller writers do. He/they *weave* instead, sinuously, taking us smoothly from horror to relief and back again while supplying all the shades of gray in between.

Kepler has a special gift, if that's the word for it, for writing the dialogue of the insane. When one of Erik's patients vandalizes his house, Erik confronts her: "You broke our window." She snaps back, "The rock broke the window." That's the sound of psychopathy—blindly, madly, relentlessly self-justifying. One convincing psychotic is about as much as most thriller writers can manage, but Kepler delivers them by the roomful. It makes you wonder where the Swedes have been keeping him/them all this time. I imagine a cabal of nefarious Stockholm publishers loading bulk orders of Larsson onto cargo planes bound for the U.S. while they rub their hands together over a copy of *The Hypnotist* stamped NOT FOR EXPORT. It's that good. It's the hard stuff.

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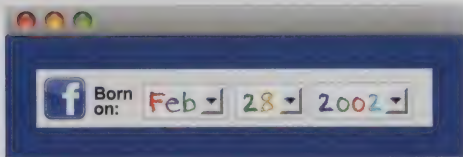
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## Tech



## Very Early Adopters. Should 9-year-olds really be on Facebook?

By Bonnie Rochman

MY 8-YEAR-OLD SON HAS USED FACEBOOK JUST once. "Call me, Uncle Marc," he wrote to my brother from my husband's account. When he didn't get an instantaneous response—Uncle Marc was at an Allman Brothers concert—he was not terribly impressed by the site that has nearly 700 million people under its spell.

So I am not among the many parents who freaked out when Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg announced his desire to upend the Children's Online Privacy and Protection Act, which requires websites that collect user information to get parental permission via credit-card verification, for example, for anyone under the age of 13. "That will be a fight we take on at some point. My philosophy is that for education, you need to start at a really, really young age," said the baby-faced Facebook founder. (The site avoids the hassle of parental consent by setting an age minimum of 13.)

The backlash was swift. "He opened up a Pandora's box," says Gwenn O'Keeffe, the lead author of an American Academy of Pediatrics report that cautions that social-media sites, with their potential for run-ins with cyberbullying, sexting and inappropriate content (not to mention sleep deprivation), may not be "healthy environments" for children and teens. Zuckerberg quickly backpedaled, but his comments sparked another debate: Just how bad is Facebook for kids, anyway?

Developmentally speaking, it's not a good idea, says O'Keeffe. Since logic and sophisticated reasoning don't kick in until high school, younger children may not realize when one of their posts is inappropriate. Yet it's that social tentativeness

that makes Facebook so attractive to kids: creating a virtual social network lets them avoid the hard work of building live-action ones. In interviews with more than 300 children, Sherry Turkle, author of *Alone Together*, found that kids are nervous about ending conversations and prefer to apologize via text so they don't have to do it in person. "Facebook is a place where you let adolescents go when they're ready to be unsupervised," says Turkle. "It's like getting the keys to the cars."

But tons of tweens aren't willing to wait. There are now more than 7.5 million Facebook users younger than 13, according to a newly released *Consumer Reports* survey, and more than 5 million are 10 or younger. The age restriction is easy to circumvent: all it takes is entering a fake birth year when you open your account, although Facebook says it routinely kicks off underage members.

Tony Bradley, a Houston father of seven, five of whom are on Facebook, believes that Zuckerberg's brainchild is safer than lots of other cyberspace hangouts. "Facebook is certainly no worse than the rest of the Internet. It's actually better," says Bradley, who may be particularly embracing of social media for the little Bradleys because he blogs about technology for *PCWorld*. He recently registered his 11-year-old, and he's considering signing up his 9-year-old, reasoning it's the perfect way to keep in touch with far-flung relatives and friends. To stay in the know, Bradley would link his child's Facebook account to his own e-mail address. And forget visions of a dangerously expansive online kiddie social life. Says Bradley: "He'd have a grand total of 10 friends." ■

### PARENT PLEASERS

New social-networking sites are competing for the under-13 crowd



Aimed at children under 10, Togetherville creates an online "neighborhood" around each user. Parents can easily monitor the site and must approve all friend requests.



Recently relaunched with a tween focus, imbee has drawn 200,000 users since 2007. Popular features include streaming radio stations and video of kiddie celebrities.

### everloop

Originally for girls but relaunched as gender-neutral, Everloop allows users to create "loops" around their friends and interests, while parents get a security dashboard.



Talki about secure launched in January, What'sWhat.me has users log in using a webcam and facial-recognition technology, so hackers don't stand a chance.

—MEGAN FRIEDMAN

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# Nancy Gibbs



## No Pictures, Please!

The scandals that stick aren't always the worst. They're just the ones we can see

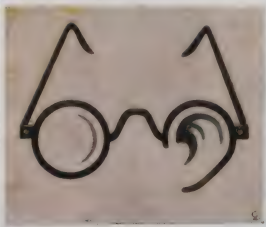
**I**T WAS 40 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH THAT a criminal conspiracy was hatched in the Oval Office—a fact that bears noting as we witness the self-immolation of Anthony Weiner over matters of far less import and ask ourselves just what determines which sins are punished, which forgiven and which forgotten in the public arena.

The occasion in 1971 was the publication of the first installment of the Pentagon Papers, a 2.5-million-word secret history of the Vietnam War. Richard Nixon was not so concerned about the actual secrets—they mainly crucified Lyndon Johnson—but he was horrified by the fact of such an epic leak, which would make conducting a clandestine foreign policy with China much trickier. On June 30, 1971, the Supreme Court upheld the *New York Times*' right to publish the papers. Nixon sat in the Oval Office the next morning with his faithful lieutenant H.R. Haldeman, planning his counterattack. "I really need a son of a bitch," Nixon said, "who will work his butt off and do it dishonorably." Because it wasn't as though this would be a fair fight. "Do you think, for Christ sakes, [that] the *New York Times* is worried about all the legal niceties? ... We're up against an enemy, a conspiracy. They're using any means. We are going to use any means," he said, stretching every word.

**And thus was launched, a full year** before the Watergate break-in, the war that would destroy a presidency. How do we know all this? The same way I came to study Weiner's shiny torso and seamy texts: through technologies whose risks were not fully appreciated at the time. Nixon was not the first President to tape his conversations; it's just that his system was voice-activated. We will never know if any other President approached Nixon

in paranoia, profanity or potential criminality, since only his conversations were captured, subpoenaed and ultimately released on the front pages of newspapers.

Could he have survived Watergate if we had just read about his actions rather than heard them unfold in all their greasy glory? There's no way to know, but when it comes to Weiner, we can hazard a guess. A new Pew poll found that most respondents thought the recent rash of



sex scandals reflects not lower standards among lawmakers, just higher scrutiny. Had we not seen the crotch shots and read the sexts but merely heard that Weiner was communicating inappropriately with his fans, it's hard to believe he would have been judged unfit for congressional service by his peers.

This is the lawmaking body that was content to censure Gerry Studds for inviting a 16-year-old page to his apartment, getting him drunk and seducing him. Barney Frank put a prostitute on his personal payroll who proceeded to run his business out of Frank's Capitol Hill apartment; Frank was reprimanded for fixing his parking tickets. Senator Larry Craig considered

resigning after he was arrested in a sex sting in an airport men's room but thought better of it and served out his term. Last year Senator David Vitter was re-elected in a landslide despite having his name turn up in the phone records of the D.C. Madam.

**And that's just the sex.** FBI agents found \$90,000 in bribe money in Congressman William Jefferson's freezer; he was defended by colleagues and re-elected by voters before being sentenced to 13 years in prison. Charlie Rangel was writing laws on our taxes as chair of the Ways and Means Committee while somehow neglecting to pay his own. He lost the chairmanship but keeps his seat, from which he now defends Weiner.

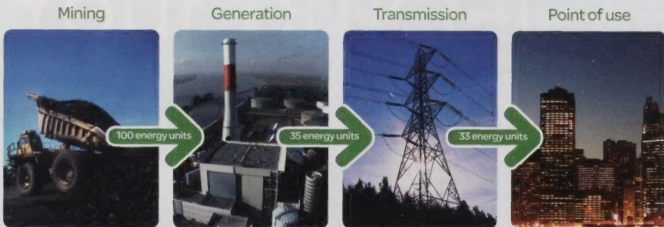
But defends him from what? No accusations of crime or abuse or outright adultery—not that that has proved disqualifying in the past (though a new Tennessee law makes it a crime to transmit online an image that might "frighten, intimidate or cause emotional distress," so who knows what is illegal anymore?). Boiled down, the charges against Weiner amount to being epically stupid and deeply creepy and to having few friends in Congress. In the end, the calls for his resignation aren't a moral judgment but a political one: his presence costs

too much and distracts Democrats from defending Medicare to the death, and in any case, New York needs to sacrifice two congressional seats to redistricting, so Weiner's might conveniently dissolve in 2012.

As for the rest of us, the political-media-industrial complex has found Weinerpalooza an irresistible distraction from other disturbing news. The days of the Pentagon Papers debates seem long past, when a sudden transparency yielded insight into fights over war and peace and freedom and security; the transparency afforded by Twitter and Facebook yields insights that extend no further than a lawmaker's boundless narcissism and a culture's pitiless prurience.



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# 10 Questions



Despite her strict training regimen, Li ate several bowls of her sponsor's ice cream during the French Open

## The first Chinese player to win a Grand Slam singles title, **Li Na**, 29, talks about love, tennis and avoiding the crazies

**You're competing at Wimbledon, so you haven't gone home to China since you won the French Open. What do you expect the reception to be?**  
I knew if I went back to China, many people would come to me and be crazy. So I [stayed] in Munich for four days and turned off my phone. After Melbourne I went back to China, and I couldn't concentrate on the tennis court. I didn't want to make the same mistake.

**One Chinese poll found that 44% of people who watched you win the French Open were in tears. Is this added pressure for you?**  
Only 44%? [Laughs.] No, I think a lot of people were watching because it was 9 o'clock in the evening and it was also the weekend. Maybe because this is the second time I went to the finals, more people were interested. But I never think about pressure.

**Your mother has never actually seen you play tennis live because she gets so nervous. Do you think she'll ever change her mind?**  
I've asked her many times. She always answers, "No, I have my life, and I don't want to change," and also she really doesn't enjoy the sport. So even after the French Open, I didn't call her. I sent a text message saying, "I'm good. Now in Paris, on my

way back to Munich." And she said, "I heard you won a tournament."

**Is she proud of you?**  
I think so. But sometimes she doesn't want to show it.

**The Williams sisters are back at Wimbledon after injury-related absences. Would you look forward to facing either?**

I was happy that they came back after their injuries. It's good for the fans, good for women's tennis. I know both are tough players. I look forward to competing.

**Back in 2006, you split with the Chinese Tennis Association, which was entitled to 65% of your earnings. Was that decision based on money, or was there more to it?**  
Sixty-five percent is like normal because the [All-China Sports] Federation pays everything for you—they pay for the coach, hotel, traveling. If you stay in the national team, even if you don't do well, you still have money. I think now there's even more pressure [on me] because I have to pay for myself. We still have to pay a little percentage



back to the federation. But I wanted more challenges. I [had never been] on a professional tennis tour.

**Do you have more passion for tennis now?**

Before, I felt like tennis was my job. I prefer what I'm doing now. I'm the boss, so it's much easier.

**What's the story behind the tattoo on your chest?**

I'm a romantic, so when I was 16 years old with my now husband, I thought, I should make something only for us. The first time I showed the tattoo, it was big news in the newspaper: "She has a tattoo with a snake." It's not a snake.

**What is it?**

It's a rose with a heart.

**What do you want to do after tennis?**

Of course, after I retire I want to be the housewife, really. Maybe a little bit of a copy of my mom. When I was young, she always took care of me, took care of my father. If I have children, after school they'll always feel happy energy in the home.

—WILLIAM LEE ADAMS



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